DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 156 826 CE 015 675

AUTHOR Bramson, Leon; Kohn, Lisa
TITLE Mid-Life Career Change.
PUB DATE Oct 75
NOTE 128p.; Appendixes A and B (excerpts from Never Too Old to Learn) and Appendix D (an excerpt from Faculty Development in a Time of Retrenchment) were removed for copyright reasons (see, respectively, ED 105 194 and ED 089 621 for ordering information); Appendix C, a budget, was removed by the author

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$7.35 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Adult Counseling; *Adult Development; *Adult Programs; Adults; *Career Change; Career Choice; Employment Patterns; Housewives; Labor Force; Labor Turnover; *Literature Reviews; *Middle Aged; Occupational Choice; Occupational Mobility; Vocational Counseling; *Vocational Interests; Working Women

ABSTRACT

This report deals primarily with the literature involving mid-career changes within the paid labor force. Changes from unpaid to paid employment and the career shift of the housewife who joins or rejoins the labor force are considered, but shifts to unpaid work, volunteer jobs, and early retirement without a second career are not included. The focus of this examination of career change emphasizes a shift in the occupational field to a new career pattern. The information based on a literature review is organized in the following manner: definitions of mid-career change and other related terms; potential interest in mid-career change; historical, sociological, and psychological perspectives on work; theories of adult development and mid-life crisis; policy and reform; and programs to facilitate career change. Research recommendations conclude the report. Annotated bibliographies from several sources are included in the appendixes. (BM)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED156826

MID-LIFE CAREER CHANGE

Leon Bramson
Lisa Kohn

A version of this paper was presented at the 1977 Annual Meetings of the Society for Applied Anthropology. Aside from brief quotations for review purposes, all rights are reserved by Leon Bramson and other quotations may not be made without written consent.

~~Appendices have been omitted.~~

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Leon Bramson

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC) AND USERS OF THE ERIC SYSTEM."

CE 015 675

October, 1975

Table of Contents

1. Some Comments on Definitions.....2

2. Potential Interest in Mid-Career Change.....7

3. Historical, Sociological and Psychological Perspectives on Work.....13

4. Constraints on Mid-Life Career Change.....30

5. Theories of Adult Development and "Mid-Life" Crisis.....39

6. Literature on Policy and Reform.....56

7. Programs to Facilitate Career Change.....68

8. Research Recommendations.....78

9. Appendices.....88

   Appendix A.....89

   Appendix B.....103

   Appendix C.....~~114~~ OMITTED

   Appendix D.....117

   Appendix E.....123

10. Bibliography.....135

1. Some Comments on Definitions

It is difficult to arrive at a precise definition of "mid-life" or "mid-career", partly because of the arbitrary element in chronological age limits. The definition used here must be sufficiently broad to take account of, for example, the astonishing increases in longevity in the U.S. during this century. Such increases have a direct bearing on the issue, since they increase the likelihood of additional experiences which might have an impact on one's occupational identity. Extreme longevity changes the definition of middle-age itself, so that Neugarten (1975) refers to individuals between the ages of 55 and 75 as the "young old". However, both Hiestand (1971) and Clopton (1972) in their studies of mid-career shifters chose the years between thirty-five and fifty-five as the main period of potential career redirection. They argue that the majority of individuals in this group have established a work pattern, a family pattern and a style of life. With these age limits, furthermore, they avoid overlapping with most of those who are retiring early without necessarily having a second career in mind.

Chronological age alone is not always a meaningful predictor of attitudes or behavior. It must be accompanied by qualifying descriptions of the cultural context or frame of reference. Individual human variation makes it nearly

impossible for a valid use of chronological age of "life time" as an index of change (Neugarten 1975:57). Middle age, furthermore, is characterized by a number of changes involving personal, physiological and situational factors which provide a better clue to the onset of mid-life than does chronological age alone. A dissenter with respect to this generally accepted view is Daniel Levinson (forthcoming, 1976) whose recent research on a sample of 40 middle-aged men has strengthened his view that normal development in adulthood involves age-linked phenomena to a much greater extent than had been anticipated.

This report will deal primarily with the literature involving mid-career changes within the paid labor force. A change from unpaid to paid employment will be considered, e.g., the career shift of the housewife who joins or rejoins the labor force. Shifts to unpaid work, volunteer jobs and early retirement without a second career will not be included (see Appendix A for bibliography). The focus of this examination of career change emphasizes a shift in the occupational field to a new career pattern. Excluded also from the analysis are changes involving upward or downward occupational mobility wherein an individual may change his job but remains in the same career pattern, e.g., a school teacher who becomes a school principal. We will also not deal with occupational change involving a mere switch to a new firm or employer. Hiestand

(1971) proposed a definition of career changing in terms of "degrees of shift" as a symbolic representation of the extent of the change and utilization of new skills. The 45 degree shift might be the school teacher who returns to school for an additional certificate in order to become a guidance counselor; a 90 degree turn may involve the business-executive who becomes a farmer. One change may utilize skills already possessed by an individual; another may require an entirely new set of skills. Both of these kinds of changes will be considered in that they both involve a new career in a different occupational field.

The career is viewed by Becker and Strauss (1956:253) as an established passage through the occupational structure, providing for upward or downward mobility. The career is a manipulative device in that it may provide satisfaction and reward, can function to delay gratification and to increase the incentive for social mobility. Traditionally, the career is considered a pattern of employment with well-defined stages. It implies mobility within a hierarchy and the adjustments that must accompany this movement (Stebbins; 1970:32).* Typically, the career is considered with respect to movement through

---

* Similarly, Nosow (1962:284) refers to the career as "any pattern of occupational change (vertical or horizontal) of any occupational group". Friedsam (1964:72) introduces the concept of the career line in order to account for the frequent changes in occupation and style of work within a career. Stebbins (1970:33) maintains that these career lines are evidence of the particular culture and social identity of those who participate.

stages; Mannheim (1952:248) sees it as encompassing only the sequential distribution of power and success. In his view, the career can only exist where this distributive process is established and predetermined. Thus for Mannheim the prior existence of bureaucratic organization is a primary determinant of whether a job is part of a career. Hughes (1937:409) distinguishes between the objective and subjective perspective on careers. He sees the career from the objective point of view as a rigid sequence of statuses, each clearly established with well-defined boundaries. Subjectively, however, the career must be considered in the context of the individual's whole life, his network of obligations and relationships. Sofer (1970) re-affirms this distinction between that aspect of career which reflects an individual's self-image, and that aspect which involves a label or a status which identifies him within society. The former is intensely personal and is a primary factor in one's self conception; the latter involves an institutionalized set of symbols which are interpreted by others in society. Often a career pattern is less determined by chronological age than by the societal interpretation placed on it. Maturity and experience may mean nothing to the 40 year old baseball player who is "too old" to continue working, whereas the politician is beginning to realize his potentialities at the same age.

In a society characterized by rapid technological change, the concept of "serial" careers may become commonplace (Stebbins, 1970). This notion is widespread among students of the impact of technological change on work life (Rapoport 1970; Toffler 1970). Rapoport emphasizes the idea that such continuous change may force individuals to undertake new careers and to adapt themselves to new situations. As Fine (1970:43) points out, this adaptation does not involve merely a change in work. "In careers the focus is on the worker and his relationship to an organization." Murray, Powers and Havighurst (1971:5) distinguish career from job by defining job "as a specific work/salary position"; and as Roberts (1973:9) points out, one may have several jobs within a career line, moving horizontally or vertically within the hierarchy. A career change, however, will involve movement out of the hierarchy and the organization into an entirely new line of work. Career will be considered here in its highly personal meaning related to the self-image of an individual and involving "a developmental sequence which requires a high degree of commitment" (Rapoport, 1970:3). We will also deal with the societal attitudes and expectations associated with careers and the structural influences on those who are interested in mid-career change.

2. Potential Interest in Mid-Career Change

The significance of an analysis of mid-life career change is underscored by an examination of the studies showing that there are a considerable number of potential career-changers. The potential interest in second careers is documented in studies related to job satisfaction, in expressions of interest in continuing education, in frequency of job changes, and in trends in labor force participation pointing to the growth of a group of increasingly younger retirees.

Lesire to Change Careers

Studies documenting the degree of job dissatisfaction point to the individual who may benefit from a mid-career change. Surveys indicate that about 8 to 12% of the population indicate a negative response to the question "Are you satisfied with your work?" (Pascal 1975:25) Wilensky (1965) in an attempt to overcome the identity-laden aspects of this question, re-worded it to ask "If you had the chance to start your working life over again, would you choose the same type of work?" The use of this question helps avoid the psychological threat to one's self-image consequent upon the admission that one is not satisfied with one's work. A significant difference was found between the responses of those in working class occupations and the white-collar/professional occupations. The responses of

the latter occupational groups indicated a widespread desire to choose similar work if they were to begin again. The important thing about these "high" satisfaction groups, however, is the extent to which even they give evidence of dissatisfaction with work on recent surveys.

----An American Management Association survey of business executives (Tarnowieski 1973) revealed that 49% of the sample of 2800 have changed or considered changing their occupation field since 1967. Of this 49%, 77% of those in their 30's and 62% of those in their 50's expressed actual intent to investigate second careers. Seventy percent of those who say they are less than minimally satisfied with their career have expectations of a change in the future. There appears to be a small minority of workers in the traditionally "high-satisfaction" careers who are discontented with their work and indicate that they would be interested in mid-life career change.

----In Sofer's study (1971) 18 out of a sample of 81 managers in mid-career indicated that they would prefer to move to a new department or "try something new".

----The American Council on Education survey of over 100,000 American teaching faculty in colleges and universities (1973) had a response rate of 49%, over-representing the holders of Ph.D's as opposed to non-Ph.D's. Nevertheless, the response to the statement "If I had a chance to retrace my steps, I would not choose an academic life" indicated that 13.5% of all respondents "strongly agree" or "agree with reservations".

----A study by Robinson et. al (1969) indicated that there was a difference in the relative work satisfaction of "people-oriented" vs. "data-oriented" professionals. Of those involved in the data-oriented professions, 7% expressed dissatisfaction and 38% gave some thought to changing their jobs. None of those in the sample who were involved in people-oriented work expressed dissatisfaction, though 25% gave some thought to changing their jobs.

Of course the interest in mid-life career change is not limited to this minority of white-collar and professional workers. One survey (Pascal, 1975:9) found that 40% of a national sample of the labor force gave serious thought to a job change. Sheppard and Herrick (1972:153) in their survey of 200 blue collar workers, forty years and older, revealed that 36% said that they thought (once in a while or very often) about seriously making an effort to enter a new career field. There appears to be about 8 to 12% of the population which responds negatively to the question, "Are you satisfied with your work?" (Pascal, 1975:25) and this figure corresponds to the assessment of job satisfaction studies by Blauner (1960;1964:29) which indicated that from 75 to 90% of workers said that they were satisfied with their jobs. And it would be well to bear in mind that important cohort differences may obtain here; we are being told (H.E.W., 1972) that more recent cohorts have greater job dissatisfaction because of higher educational qualifications and greater expectations for self-fulfillment in work. Such a cultural trend will inevitably work toward increasing the number of individuals interested in mid-life career change.

Interest in Education

There have been a number of studies indicating the extent of interest and participation in continuing education

among those concerned with mid-life career change. Carp (Pascal 1975:13) claims that 19% of the Americans in her study would be interested in additional vocation education for the purpose of changing occupations. Only 6%, however, had actually participated in such a program. Her data (involving a sample of about 3900 Americans) indicated a high level of interest among the lower white-collar people of average education rather than among either blue-collar people of below-average education or professionals. When the data were analyzed, women and the more highly educated individuals were those more likely to be engaged in learning for the purpose of a career change although the men expressed more overall interest.

The Special Labor Force (Young 1973) provided information concerning the number of people returning to school after the age of thirty-five. This study is significant in that it deals only with those persons who are returning to school to get a degree or to train for an occupation. The data, obtained from the October, 1972 Current Population Survey, revealed that 1.5 million adults, thirty-five years of age and older, were enrolled in courses designed for career development. A little over one half of these had enrolled in graduate and professional schools; two-fifths were enrolled in vocational programs. Hiestand's (1971) data, obtained from various national samples as well as

from a few universities, reveals that at least 7% of the students enrolled full-time in graduate and professional schools in 1966 were 35 years and older.

Frequency of Job Changes

There is a significant amount of job mobility involving changes of employer or job position. While this information tells us nothing about mid-career shifts, it does reflect increasing mobility (Toffler 1970). For example, the Bureau of Labor Statistics (Saben 1972) reported that out of 70 million Americans, 5 1/2 million changed occupations between 1965 and 1966. Similarly, the Manpower Administration reported that in the period 1966-1969, about one in five men between the ages of 45 and 59 changed employers, 60% of which were voluntary changes (Parnes, 1971).

Retirement Trends

The changing roles and expectation of the elderly in modern industrial society has produced a significant number of early retirees whose traditional roles are defined as being obsolescent. Furthermore, technological change resulting in early obsolescence increases the available amount of leisure time and contributes to an increase in the retired population.

----J. Kreps (1971) suggests that conditions of unemployment, job scarcity, and increasing competitiveness are factors of our economy which have the greatest impact on retirement trends.

----The U.S. Bureau of the Census (1970) has reported that the proportion of males participating in the work force aged 65 and over, has declined from about 68% in 1900 to about 25% in 1970.

----Other studies (Katona and Morgan 1967) indicate that there is a trend which favors planning for early retirement, though of course such plans could be negatively influenced by a combination of recession and inflation.

----The National Institute of Health (1975) reports a 20% decline in the labor force participation rates for males at around the age of 55. This indicates the growth of a middle-aged male population that would still be eligible for a second-career should they desire one as an alternative to early retirement. Females in the same age bracket have experienced an increase in participation in the work force as well. This is perhaps a reflection of the decision to enter or re-enter the labor force after the main tasks of child-rearing have been completed. The great increase in female participation in the labor force during this century means also that middle-aged females will constitute an increasingly important sector of the population actively seeking mid-career change.

Finally, the importance of examining mid-career shifts does not lie only in the fact that there exists a sizeable population of potential career changers. Some studies suggest that the basis for successful aging and retirement lies in one's previous participation in an orderly and satisfactory career (Wilensky 1961). Various theories of aging indicate that a new career would be one avenue which could be taken by those for whom the maintenance of a network of social relationships and activities was important in order to prepare for a satisfactory retirement. Those who do not have such needs for affiliation may find that

they can develop new career satisfactions by turning an avocation into a vocation. In either case, new career patterns in their many forms can fill a variety of needs in the process of healthy adult development (Wright;1974: 5).

3. Historical, Sociological and Psychological Perspectives on Work

We may obtain perspective on the functions of work in modern industrial society by examining the historical development of attitudes toward work. Tilgher's classic study (1930) indicates that the ancient Greeks and Romans regarded work as drudgery imposed upon men as punishment. Only a select number of occupations were considered respectable and worthy of the attention of a free citizen. The ancient Hebrews viewed work as a form of punishment but believed that it served as the means for which one could atone for sins. The early Christians had similar conceptions of the function of work, regarding idleness with disdain and encouraging charitable uses for the profits derived from work (Tilgher, 1930; Slocum, 1966; Wilensky, 1964:127). Work as an obligation associated with ascribed status persisted under Catholicism during the Middle Ages; indeed, Weber (1958) in his famous essay argues that traditionalistic orientations toward work were characteristic even of

Lutheranism. It was only with the rise of radical, ascetic Protestantism, particularly Calvinism and the Pietistic sects, that new attitudes toward work were generated which, according to Weber, transformed the economic history of the whole world---an orientation toward work which is still referred to popularly as "the Protestant ethic". Though Luther took the first step in promulgating a doctrine by virtue of which "every man became a priest", the spiritual value of work was re-interpreted in Calvinism in a way which emphasized rational, disciplined, devotion to and performance of work as a means of dealing with the anxiety generated by the search for signs of election. This was the paradoxical result of Calvinist predestinarianism. Work and business success came to be seen as the primary means for service to God (Wilensky, 1964:127). Contemplation and prayer were no longer the most important forms of religious devotion. The technological and scientific developments that accompanied this shift toward a this-worldly, activist, achievement-oriented approach to work found support and sanction in Protestant theology.

Weber's concept of the "calling", revealed in his analysis of the lay ethic associated with this new form of Christian doctrine, emphasized "a positive approval of active rational mastery over things and ideals; a view of hard work as a virtue and profit making as an obeisance to God (Weber 1958). Weber himself held that the religious

foundations of this orientation had long since withered away, and that modern industrial society had developed independently of its Calvinist origins to the point where bureaucratization and a highly rationalized capitalism had created "an iron cage". Yet the ideal of "the calling" remains as an important part of the lay ethic associated with industrialism, however attenuated its original religious sources might be. Is the concept of mid-life career change or the second career inconsistent with this important aspect of the lay ethic of American industrialism?

It seems to us that the idea of a second career is not, in fact, inconsistent with this aspect of the lay ethic. For its focus continues to be on work as a source of self-definition. Although counter-cultural values have been proclaimed as an antithesis to the "work ethic" and it has been argued that such values are more appropriate to contemporary American society (Reich 1970), occupation remains a major determinant of one's identity. Berger and Berger (1971) have argued that if some upper-middle class college educated youth voluntarily relinquish their claims to occupancy of the command-posts in modern industrial society in favor of counter-cultural pursuits, their places will be taken by the sons and daughters of the blue-collar classes eager for their opportunity to exert influence and leadership. (Hence the "bluing" of America in terms of a functionalist analysis of the needs of such

a society.) It is not, in fact, clear that such a transition has taken place, in spite of evidence that values associated with work and leisure are changing in a direction which emphasizes greater personal fulfillment in the work role as opposed to the putative evils of climbing a ladder within a corporate hierarchy in a bureaucratized environment (Yankelovich, 1974).

Students of the sociology of work have been almost unanimous in emphasizing the importance of work in self-definition. Everett Hughes has argued that in modern society work is as significant as the choice of a marriage partner, and that norm associated with each institution encourages an irrevocable choice (Hughes 1958:43). (This suggests the fascinating notion that the second career is functionally equivalent to divorce, and that both are on the increase, suggesting an overall loosening of the bonds within modern society.) Wilensky points out that work provides the primary answer to the question "Who am I?" and that occupation therefore provides "the key role for most men in modern society." (1960). Sofer (1970:66) refers to individuals whose personality is primarily an identification with career or career product. In considering the negative psychological consequences of unemployment, Shepard (1971:84) proposes that "work will continue to remain a basic source of identity and self-image." The implications of occupational choice are vast in that

each occupation carries with it various symbols and values. The reason for choosing a particular career will be directly related to an individual's psychological needs. Accompanying the onset of mid-life will be changes in needs, attitudes, and desires. Mid-life career change may be the result of a search for identity but may also assist the transition to a new self-conception.

Wilensky (1961) has pointed out that work serves many functions in addition to the economic one. Morse and Weiss (1955:191) observed, on the basis of results from a national sample, that jobs would be retained by the majority of workers even though they were financially secure. Work provides them with a sense of social connection which is not so readily available in leisure activities alone. Riesman (1950) originally argued in favor of an emphasis on leisure as a central life-focus for individuals engaged in meaningless, repetitive work. His post-war attack on the austerities of the Protestant ethic in promoting the impoverishment of leisure was subjected to criticism from a number of quarters, e.g. Bell (1956). Leisure, Bell argued, could scarcely function as a source of personal identity comparable to occupational role, but only took on meaning in the context of its relationship to work. Riesman subsequently changed his position on this issue.

Havighurst and Friedmann (1954:19) examine some of the basic functions of work in modern industrial society by examining attitudes toward retirement. Work not only provides for basis subsistence needs, it regulates daily activities, provides structure and a network of social interaction and meaning which extends beyond the individual. Mayo's classic study of the Hawthorne works (1960) emphasized the idea that the factory could function as a focus of social solidarity for workers who were socially disorganized as a result of the impact of an impersonal urban environment. The emphasis on human relations had a profound impact on managerial ideologies still dominated by the behavioristic ideas of Frederick Winslow Taylor (1911). Subsequently, students of industrial workers (e.g. Blauner, 1964) have emphasized the relationship of the worker to his work in countering alienation as opposed to the Mayo emphasis on the relationship of workers to one another. The orientation of Mayo and his school, it was argued, needed to be supplemented by an emphasis on the character of the work itself. If the work were more intrinsically satisfying, then there would be less alienation. It follows that if this goal were to be pursued (via well-known means such as job rotation, job re-design and worker participation in management) the result might be a decrease

in interest in mid-life career redirection.

Finally, it is appropriate to mention a theoretical issue represented by Emile Durkheim's view concerning social solidarity and the division of labor (1960), particularly the preface to the second edition of THE DIVISION OF LABOR. Durkheim argued that social solidarity would ensue in modern societies if individuals could freely choose to pursue "the career open to talent". His analysis was also prescriptive in that he argued for specialization, implying that the single-minded pursuit of a single career line which was best in accordance with one's capacities would function to enhance social solidarity by creating interdependence among the specialists. It would also create new centers of solidarity focused around occupations and professions. The conventional meritocratic wisdom has accepted Durkheim's view in this matter, but except for some strong-minded individuals who have embraced more than one career during a lifetime, we have not provided much encouragement for mid-career change in modern society. It remains an open question as to whether or not modern societies can accommodate second careers with all that they imply from the point of view of the individual's relationship to the rest of the social order, not to mention his self-conception. It is important to ask, however, how much flexibility we have in modern industrial society for encouraging this kind of variation in commitment to work. Durkheim himself emphasized the notion that the

forced division of labor does not generate solidarity; presumably it follows that second careers might ultimately be more socially salubrious than a career commitment which proves to have been a mistake over the long run. Such variation in commitment to work can represent real liberation, as opposed to the many false ideas of liberation which have gained currency in recent years. As Freud pointed out (1930:27): "No other technique for the conduct of life attaches the individual so firmly to reality as laying emphasis on work; for his work at least gives him a secure place in a portion of reality, the human community."

There are many other reasons for embarking upon voluntary career change. There are two psychological models dealing with human motivation that are important to consider. The first is Maslow's (1954) hierarchy of needs, an attempt at ordering sequential levels of needs with the ultimate goal of "self-actualization". The Maslow model is a general hypothesis. The second model is Herzberg's (1959;1956) "motivator-hygiene" theory, an introduction to the concept of dual variables in job satisfaction. The Herzberg model was specifically formulated from studies of job-satisfaction.

Maslow's theory outlines the levels of needs that must be fulfilled on the way to "self-actualization", starting with basic physiological needs. At a higher level, Maslow

maintains that individuals have a strong need or desire for strength, achievement, adequacy, mastery, competence, and independence. This level is particularly significant in that many of the internally motivated reasons for change are based on a perceived lack of autonomy, foreseeable mobility or growth. This becomes crucial in middle age in that re-evaluation and re-assessment of one's life often brings about the realization that work life is not fulfilling personal needs. A new career choice could be the primary source of satisfaction of these needs. Although this may not always be expressed in terms of a career change, work can provide fulfillment of these needs, particularly because of the centrality of occupation in the self-conception.

Mid-life is frequently a time of changing needs. External self-esteem needs may be diminishing whereas the more intrinsically related needs become more important. Haug and Sussman (1967) observe the desire to engage in more socially useful work as a common interest during middle age. Clearly, a change of career can assist the process of self actualization in middle age. Conversely, ascending the hierarchy can generate new needs which may facilitate a change for the purpose of gratification. Buhler's (1969) theory of life span development includes a middle phase where the individual is involved in intensive self evaluation in addition to future planning to assist the attainment of unmet goals. This

phase encompasses Maslow's growth motivation and desire for self realization, but he believes that it operates at full force in mid-life. Maslow contends that each individual has an inner being which is capable of being fully expressed and realized. When this inner nature is suppressed, guilt and self-hatred surface. He believes that American society proposes a dilemma--on the one hand encouraging full self-actualization; on the other, maintaining barriers that prevent it. In mid-life, when self esteem needs are decreasing, an individual becomes aware of these realization needs. Mid-career shifts offer the opportunity to fight the existing barriers.

Herzberg (1959) in establishing a classification of needs, devised a two part classification scheme. The first involves the desire to avoid pain and unpleasantness. The second dimension refers to the need for personal growth and self-actualization. There are some similarities to Maslow's higher and lower needs in their basic distinction between externally and internally gratified needs. However, Maslow's "needs" emerge consecutively, in a hierarchy, after each previous level has been reached. In a sense, Herzberg has applied Maslow's theory directly to satisfaction among workers. He calls Maslow's basic physiological and safety needs "hygiene" factors; the growth needs are called "motivators". However, satisfaction of hygiene variables does not guarantee satisfaction

but can only decrease or temporarily eliminate dissatisfaction. Workers who can experience growth and achievement are less concerned with hygiene. Herzberg presents a two dimensional job attitude matrix that reflects his evaluation of the responses of a sample of 200 engineers and accountants who related favorable and unfavorable stories about their work life. "Extrinsic" variables (hygiene), i.e., conditions of work, were most often responsible for negative incidents. These factors could stem from dissatisfaction with the specific conditions of work, such as inadequate wages, security, and physical conditions. "Intrinsic" (motivator) variables, e.g., increased responsibility and recognition, were directly related to positive incidents. A relationship existed whereby the absence of favorable intrinsic work factors would not result in dissatisfaction, only in lessened satisfaction and vice versa. One example of a motivator factor involves the desire for change or escape from the "rat race" or career which has no foreseeable future (Haug and Sussman, 1967:440). This particular change may also be motivated by a desire to become involved in a service career that will benefit society and be intrinsically meaningful. In other words, the individual may gradually become disillusioned or dissatisfied with the actual type of work he is doing. His personal

needs may be changing and a re-evaluation of his present achievements and goals may make the individual aware that the present occupation is not fulfilling these needs. The individual at this stage has gratified his basic needs and aspires to self actualization in his work by finding a career that is intrinsically worthwhile. John Gardner (1965) affirms this need for socially beneficial work when he describes the agony and loneliness of having achieved all of one's goals, yet remaining unfulfilled. Haug and Sussman found this to be a significant motivating force in their study of second career rehabilitation counselors (1967). Similarly, D. Levinson (Roberts 1973) has noted two alternatives to mid-career dissatisfaction, the positive reaction being involvement in various political or social causes. Hiestand's (1971:51) study of individuals re-entering colleges and universities, revealed the concern for increasing status, autonomy, and security. However, according to Herzberg, improvement of these variables would only lessen dissatisfaction, not increase satisfaction.

The Herzberg "motivator/hygiene" model is a contradiction of the traditional conception of job satisfaction as having a single cause (for an assessment of Herzberg's theory and the evidence pertaining to it, see House and

Wigdor, 1967). The theory is significant in that it opens up the possibility that specific conditions that make for a more rewarding career could be pinpointed. This might be of particular interest to counselors who are attempting to find a certain type of career that would be desirable for an individual. Herzberg's studies resulted in proposals for job enrichment, - the redesigning of jobs in order to meet the demands of the motivating factors (Sirota and Wolfson 1972). The extrinsic-hygiene factors can remain unchanged; the important variables center around increased available achievement, responsibility, advancement, and growth. This is crucial to mid-life career redirection in that often by mid-life an individual had matured and gained a great deal of experience in the previous career. These factors can now be recognized and put to use. Both the uniscalar and bi-scalar theories emphasize the need for some theory of need gratification. The awareness of changing needs, as well as the discrepancy between intrinsic-motivator/extrinsic-hygiene variables will be an integral part of any counseling program that attempts to pinpoint the appropriate type of work for an individual embarking on a change. These theoretical models attempt to view man as a total being and examine his needs in an attempt to understand human motivation. It will be necessary to formulate a theory of motivation

specific to mid-life. This will be discussed further in an examination of adult development and "mid-life" crisis (Part 5).

Most career changes probably involve both external and internal factors. Two other studies reveal this complex interaction of external and internal influences. Haug and Sussman (1967) made use of data from the Professions Project study on the Career Contingencies of the Rehabilitation Counselor. They conducted a retrospective study of a sample of individuals in Rehabilitation Career Counseling, comparing the characteristics and motivations of those who chose this as a first career versus those who chose it as a second. They found several differences between the two groups. The primary distinguishing factor was, of course, age differences. In the first group, the mean age was twenty-six. The mean age of the second group was thirty-seven. The second group was also disproportionately female; these women were often married. Economically, the second group was more financially secure than the first. Similarly, their previous occupations involved business and professional careers. This indicates that there was minimal financial risk for these individuals in that their husbands were also earning a living. Furthermore, their previous occupation probably provided them with some degree of financial security.

In examining some of the determining factors, Haug and Sussman found that almost one-third of the second career group had chosen the switch because of a physical disability; this occurred twice as often as in the first career group. An additional third experienced a physical disability in their immediate family. This factor is probably specific to the profession of rehabilitation counseling rather than being a generic determinant of career-change. This occupational relevance factor must be taken into consideration. Another distinguishing motivational factor was the tendency of the second careerists to report positive, humanitarian, moral reasons as the explanation for their choice, as opposed to the first careerists who reported practical, more self-centered reasons. In the image of the career as a profession, one can image humanitarian ends being served. It may have provided a good rationale for breaking of old job patterns.

Roe and Baruch (1967) conducted interviews with thirty individuals who had recently or were currently in the process of changing their careers. The study attempted to illuminate some of the conditions surrounding an occupational change. They found that while a physical disability was the primary precipitating event, that desire for advancement, increasing responsibility, and intrinsically meaningful work accompanied the change. They reported that high

wages were often sacrificed for such changes.

These two studies emphasize the notion that the mid-career change is not related to any one variable, but is the result of the complex interaction of many internal and external forces. Veiga (1975) has developed a career mobility phase matrix in order to pinpoint some of the major influences on an individual in the middle years. He contends that there is a direct relationship between age and other situational variables that influence career decisions. He identifies three dimensions of mobility: 1)Intra-organizational mobility - a function of the organization's or institution's image of the individual, 2) Geographical mobility - a function of completed child responsibilities, 3) Interorganizational mobility - a function of the individual's reassessment of future goals. Each reflects different needs and is at its highest level of activity at middle age (39-54). The interorganizational mobility, reflecting the individual's needs, most clearly applies to voluntary career redirection while the others refer to involuntary factors. Veiga stresses the multidimensionality of a career decision in that the combination of influences, organizational, familial and personal will define the nature and extent of the change.

Finally, it is interesting to examine the literature on vocational choice in the light of the foregoing discussion. For it is clear that traditional theories of vocational

choice regard mid-life career change as deviant behavior; often it is consider pathological, the result of negative parental influences and other personality disturbances (Carter 1940; Super 1953; Ginzberg 1964).

Ginzberg (1951) divided the career choice process into a series of developmental stages involving a struggle between desires and possibilities. In the early stages, interests and dreams predominate; as the individual grows the desires are modified in accordance with reality and societal restrictions. Finally a compromise is reached wherein the external reality and the individual's interests meet. However, this theory, as well as many others, consider the developmental process to be completed by age twenty.

Others propose more dynamic theories involving a personal assessment of perceived demands and opportunities. Strong (1943) believes that individual interests and character traits should be matched to the interests and traits of unsuccessful persons in various careers in order to help select a suitable vocation. Those interests and personality variables, he maintains, remain stable throughout adulthood. Similarly, Holland (1959;1966) believes that individuals choose a career environment which corresponds with their personality type and allows them to effectively express their values. However, Holland claims

that this model would apply to career change at any stage in life. His theory makes room for growth and change in personality variables.

The psychoanalytically oriented theorists (Bell 1967; Bordin et al: 1963) of vocational choice have proposed a theory involving career choice as the method for gratifying unconscious needs that arise from early physiological/sexual experiences. Studies have shown significant differences in Rorschach test results within the various occupational groups. Roe and Siegelman (1964) other analytically oriented theorists contend that a combination of influences, i.e., early parental interaction, environmental and situational factors, will determine the career selection pattern. Unfortunately, most theories of vocational choice are of little use in analyzing or assisting the individual who wants to make a second choice at mid-life. The theories focus on youth and have not expanded to establish models for mid-life career changes.

4. Constraints on Mid-Life Career Change

Although the focus of this background paper is on voluntary mid-life career change, involuntary constraints often combine with personal motivations to produce a shift of careers. Thus it will be appropriate to review some of the involuntary constraints which have been found to be significant factors in many instances of career change.

A number of careers entail early mandatory retirement as mentioned above--airline pilots, military men and women, professional athletes, fashion models and others. Such individuals frequently encounter cultural bias in the form of "agism", prejudice against the individual over 40 and an assumption that such individuals will be physically and mentally incapable of continuing their work at a high level of competence (Belbin 1968:345). Such arguments are used to justify the arbitrary setting of a compulsory retirement age later as well. The whole question of the effect of age on ability has generated a voluminous literature. Bell (1975:42) discussed this literature, including the effect of age on motor and mental ability.

Several studies have documented the age induced slowing of reaction time (Geise 1968). Studies evaluating intelligence and mental ability have yielded varying results depending on what the test involved. Certain mental functions, i.e., perception, inventiveness, etc. under certain conditions (requiring speed, memory) indicate an age related decline. Others that involve vocabulary, verbal understanding and general information -- under more favorable testing conditions -- reveal the opposite results (Geist 1968; Lorge 1936). R. M. Belbin (1965:25) in summarizing the evidence, concludes that among the intelligent, there is greater maintenance of intelligence

through continued active interests. He claims that, "intelligence is preserved or advanced throughout the normal span of working life." Further studies indicated that the trainability and motivation of older workers is influenced by the nature and accomplishments of the previous career, degree of self confidence, and self image (Siegle 1960; Belbin 1965; Birren 1955).

Most of the experimental work in the area of adult learning processes has been conducted by E. Belbin (summarized in Methods of Training Workers 1958) in which she evaluated and analyzed various methods of training older workers. Her studies are significant in that they provide information regarding techniques and methods to avoid when teaching older workers, in order to overcome the age-related problems concerning learning and trainability. Belbin and Belbin (1968:346) maintain that employment of the elderly is dependent upon their ability to benefit from a re-training program. They contend that, although trainability and flexibility decline with aging, "practice in modifying and adapting behavior" will compensate.

Although the Age Discrimination Act of 1967 (Sheppard 1970:157) prohibits employers from denying employment to individuals on the basis of age (up to age sixty-five), in practice, age discrimination is widespread in industry and commerce. This is directly related to the problem of

employer rigidity when an organization or institution is faced with a middle aged applicant. If they provide a pension coverage, they may be unwilling to hire an individual who will work for fewer years than a younger applicant only to retire earlier with a pension. This problem became clear in a study of engineer employeers, revealing that, in addition to obsolescence claims, expensive pension coverage was the most common reason for not hiring the over forty engineer (Lavoie 1971:29). Similarly, Slater (1973:33), in an investigation of advertisements (for professionals and executives) imposing a restrictive age limitation of forty, reported that almost one half of the justifications for such a restrictive hiring process were concerned with the expensive pension coverage and training costs of the middle aged individual. The Department of Labor (Secretary of Labor 1965b) conducted a survey examining the unemployment practices of several firms. It revealed that there was a decrease in the chances of obtaining new employment as age increased. Of the firms interviewed, about one out of every four had specific age limitations in certain categories. The most frequently mentioned rationale for these limitations involved the physical capabilities that were required; (34%). However, other reasons dealt with the desires to involve others (youth) and the problems concerning pension funding for older workers. In 1974 the Pension Reform Act was enacted

to establish minimum vesting standards for many pension programs. This, however, is not enough of a stimulus for a career change and does not deal adequately with the problems of pension portability.

The physical incapacitation of an older person who becomes handicapped or ill, will, of course, also require him to seek a new source of work if the incapacitation interferes significantly (Haug and Sussman 1967:349). Parnes and Meyer (1971) found that poor health was the primary cause for withdrawal from the labor force among middle aged men. Perhaps this prompted a career change. Haug and Sussman (1971) document the frequency of personal or familial disability as an impetus for a career shift. * Often performance inability is psychological, involving an individual's attitude towards himself and his place in a rapidly changing world (H. Levinson 1969:55). Recognition of this inability to perform or awareness of decreasing capabilities may lead for considerable psychological frustration and depression. (For further discussion, see below, Part 5.)

Finally, the traditional middle-class conception of the career is another important constraining element in that it hinders the development of flexible career patterns. Society assumes that an individual after choosing and training for a particular occupation, will remain in that field until retirement. Allowance is made for some vertical or horizontal mobility, but a direct exit, extensive

* As mentioned above, however, this probably pertains specifically to their sample of rehabilitation counselors.

leave of absence, or other interference with a continuous career line is contrary to the norm (Roberts 1973:9). Roberts' sample of career "dropouts" encountered social pressure as a result of their decision. The general point is also re-affirmed by Neugarten and Datan (1973) who note that age-status norms serve as a social-control barrier to mid-career redirection.

Other candidates for mid-life career change arise out of a sector of certain industrial occupations which, as a result of rapid technological changes, need fewer unskilled or semiskilled workers. Automation has replaced their services and rendered them useless (Kreps 1971:5). This obsolescence factor may also affect many technical and professional workers who find that technology is changing so rapidly that their skills are becoming obsolete. Other involuntary career shifts may result from some form of administrative re-organization or complete loss of job, e.g., a firm which goes out of business or re-locates. Another form of displacement might arise from a glutted or extremely competitive market. This was exemplified a few years ago by the surplus of engineers, many of whom were forced to begin second careers (Roe and Baruch 1967: 29). The consequences of this type of dislocation, however, may be a lateral move within the same occupational field but with a new employer. This does not, of course, fit our definition of career shift but it may involve some of

the same conditions or motivations which give rise to one.

The housewife/mother is a borderline case of career completion. Depending on her particular perception of her role, she could consider her first "career" finished when the child-rearing responsibilities have diminished. This individual will be a likely candidate for a "career" shift in that she may desire to enter the paid labor force. As is well known, however, women who enter the labor force have two "jobs", since they frequently remain responsible for the care of the home and retain "family" responsibilities at the same time that they work full-time or part-time.

Finally, the structure of the military provides an interesting example of career completion. Some officers retire after having been passed over for a promotion after twenty years of service. Many officers and enlisted men plan to leave the service after 20 years. There are thus instances of both voluntary and involuntary second careers for military professionals, and there is a rich literature on their experience with career change. (Biderman and Sharp, 1968; Biderman, 1971; 1973; Collings, 1971; Dunning and Biderman, 1973; Janowitz, 1960; Mailler, 1968; Sharp and Biderman, 1967; Ullman, 1971) The military has developed a backlog of experience with men seeking second careers, and the Collings handbook represents an interesting model for possible guides oriented to a wider audience. The military has also developed an interesting program for

placement of retiring personnel (see pp. 61-63, 72-73, 88-89, below).

5. Theories of Adult Development and "Mid-Life Crisis"

Mid-life is accompanied by changes in all realms of life ranging from physiological changes in the human body, and psychological changes to changes in societal expectations and attitudes. Some theorists maintain that there are developmental identity stages related to chronological aging. Others maintain that any personality change in the middle years results entirely from external events that result in various role modifications or changes in lifestyle. We will review these theories on a continuum, starting with the biological/developmental concepts. However, one important question is raised throughout the examination of these theories. Does the career shift come as a result of mid-life crisis, or does it precipitate one? The following review of the literature indicates the existence of an interesting feedback interaction between the two.

There are biological changes in mid-life. From around the age of 30, the levels of testerone and cortisol in the male begin to decline and there is decreased secretion of androgens. There is no definitive link as yet between hormonal changes and increasing vulnerability or psychological depression in the male (Brim 974:7). In the female,

however, there are established connections between the hormonal changes occurring at menopause and mental depression (Bardwick 1971).

One theory of the mid-life personality development involves the resolution of a crisis of growth vs. stagnation. Erikson (1950:247-274) deviates from the traditional psychoanalytic contention that one's personality is formed and relatively fixed by adolescence. He has suggested an eight phase sequence of stages of psycho-social development defining positive and negative alternatives confronting the individual in dealing with the crisis of each particular stage. The seventh stage he calls generativity/stagnation. It is at this point that a struggle ensues between growth of ego and stagnation. The antithetical feelings involve the individual's awareness of the nature of his potential contribution towards the future. The conception of growth or generativity encompasses the transfer of creativity, spirit, and values of one generation to their offspring. The deep seated human desire for continued personal growth, when it becomes the primary concern, can result in "self absorption", stagnation and incomplete transfer. The resolution of these two forces, Erikson maintains, is the essential job of the adult. It is this conflict that can contribute to a crisis in mid-life.

Jung (1960:400) has proposed a theory of adult development that also deviates from the traditional psychoanalytic position. He identifies four stages of chronological human development. He points out that from a societal point of view, expectations of individuals in the first half of life centers around "natural", universal concerns, personal development and growth, i.e., socialization, reproduction, and childrearing. The second half of life could be devoted to culture; socialized norms become less rigid, (he notes the reversal of male/female sex roles at around the age of forty). At mid-life, Jung sees the individual as concerned with self-understanding.

D. Levinson (1974:243) claims that the mid-life transition occurs regardless of the nature of the individual's success in our society. The number of external rewards received or goals reached is irrelevant; the individual will still have to contend with the "experience of disparity" between what has been gained internally from his efforts and what it is that the individual really wants. The crisis ensues, not from a failure to meet one's aspirations, Levinson claims, but rather the extent to which the individual questions the system he is living in, and the extent to which he undertakes to modify this structure. Levinson has developed a theory of mid-life and the circumstances surrounding the mid-life transition. He discusses this "experience of disparity between one's dreams and

reality". An individual's goals, and the failure to reach them, will confront each other. This confrontation can be resolved either by a drastic restructuring of life-style, in an attempt to combat the forces causing failure, or by a modification of goals and acceptance of lower achievements.

Levinson indicates three major issues associated with the mid-life transition. First, the awareness of one's mortality revealed through visible signs of physical deterioration. An individual must overcome omnipotence fantasies and accept his and other deaths as inevitable. The second major concern at mid-life deals with what Levinson calls the "sense of aging . . . which means to be old rather than young." The third issue deals with decreasing conformity to stereotypic male and female personality traits. At this point (as Jung also noted), the male may develop some of the more "feminine" set of attitudes and behaviors. This allows for a change in self-image and acceptance of formerly denied elements of one's personality. This role change is further supported by results from the Guttmann cross cultural studies (Brim 1974:11) revealing that men have a tendency to become less aggressive and domineering, more sensitive and loving. For women, the reverse is true. Perhaps aging reduces the concern for conformity to sanctioned stereotypes so that an individual's character can

become more fully realized. This change, however, may have some unsettling effects on one's marriage, adding to the difficulties experienced in the transition. These three issues center around the changing relationship to the self. This is an integral part of the transition to mid-life.

Brim (1974:7) believes that the discrepancy between one's aspirations and one's achievement becomes a major problem in mid-life. Up until middle age, an individual can deal with career aspirations flexibly in that there always seems to be a considerable amount of time to fulfill the dreams. Evidence of this problem was produced by Stockford (1969) in his longitudinal studies of 4000 people revealing indications of extensive disillusionment. Similarly, Sheppard (1971:72) has observed the gap between aspirations and realities and believes that the issue comes to a head at mid-life when the individual becomes more aware of the realities. H. Levinson (1969: 52) notes that one change in character of the mid-lifer results from this realization that time is closing in on an individual thereby causing him to intensify efforts at reaching his unmet goals. This often requires total involvement and career commitment. However, this intensive commitment brings on an additional problem involving the threat of defeat. The threat becomes more potent with increasing career commitment. Brim (Clausen 1968:203)

points out that the greater one's educational achievements, the higher the aspirations. But, he continues, these higher aspirations are accompanied by a high risk of non-achievement of these aspirations. Sofer's study (1970) of the work preoccupations of executives revealed the extent of unfulfilled expectations (see Chinoy:1955). Many theories of mid-life center around the reconciliation of these two forces. The awareness of one's lack of control over one's life may lead to a great deal of frustration and a sense of worthlessness. The transition can be made easier if the realization and adjustment to the gap is gradual. However, a career change as a final attempt to attain one's goals may be the result of this realization.

H. Levinson (1969:53) has also observed these feelings of inadequacy, specifically related to the manager in that there is an increasing dependency on specialists who provide expertise in various increasingly technological fields. This, he notes, is further cause for uneasiness, probably due to a decline in the manager's authority and sense of control over his work. Roe's studies (1967:32) of occupational choice in the adult years indicate that adults were unaware of their decision making position and tended to attribute the choice to external influences. She writes, ". . . few of our subjects thought of themselves as considering alternatives and making decisions

based on thoughtful examination of the situation." A. Entine has confirmed this feeling of helpless and powerlessness in his experience with participants in the Mid-Career Counseling and Information Program: "For the majority of individuals there was an underlying sense of isolation - the feeling that they were alone in trying to cope with the need to make a career change in mid-life."

Another issue, closely related to the aspiration/achievement discrepancy is what is referred to as the "resurgence of the Dream" (Brim 1974:8). This involves a re-appraisal not only of achievement, but a questioning and re-assessment of moral values. It includes a re-evaluation of one's life's work and family relationships in an attempt to ask if this was what was really desired from life, whether or not it coincides with earlier youthful images and dreams. This may cause the individual to become aware of his lost youth. H. Levinson (1969) describes the middle-aged agony of having lost half of what was originally desired, in that youth and success rarely accompany one another. Although anticipated and desired success is finally achieved, it may be anticlimactic in light of lost youth. He notes this change of attitudes towards the structure one has been involved in, as well as new feelings of worthlessness or resentment. A common feeling is that of disillusionment with political and social affairs as well as with work. Early idealism and

optimism leading to action have been replaced by disillusionment and boredom (55). This issue is directly related to earlier discussion regarding the identity-laden nature of work. This re-appraisal may involve all aspects of one's life. Becker and Strauss (1956:260) while referring primarily to movement within a career pattern, maintain that the transition to another career can involve a great deal of suffering. When one's identity is as closely related to career, ". . . a man often invests heavily of himself in a position, comes to possess it as it possesses him, and suffers in leaving." But, as Wilensky has observed (Roberts 1973:19), this seeking for a new identity is often a motivation for and then fully realized in a new career.

It is at this point that childrearing responsibilities are completed or ending, a lifestyle has been established and routinized, and parents are dead or have grown old. An individual finally reaches full adult maturity and independence. But this is coupled with the awareness that this state exists for a limited amount of time. Jacques (1965:502) maintains that this awareness of the reality of death is the primary issue in mid-life, the precipitator of a crisis. He notes that most men in mid-life become resigned to the fact of mortality, therefore losing some of the motivation for continued achievement. Jacques describes on such individual: "He began his adjustment to

the fact that he would not be able to accomplish, in the span of a single lifetime, everything he had desired to do. He could achieve only a finite amount. Much would have to remain unfinished and unrealized. . . . the creative career may simply come to an end, wither in a drying up of creative work or in actual death; the creative capacity may begin to show and express itself for the first time; or a decisive change in the quality and context of creativeness may take place." (502) H. Levinson (1969:53) observes that there is a significant change in the work style of men in the post thirty-five year old group. The change is from a spontaneous "hot-from-the-fire creativity," to a more thoughtful, "sculptured" type of activity.

Mid-life is also the period of changes within the family structure and modification of traditional roles. The children are growing and are becoming less dependent on the parents, assuming more responsibilities, ordering their own lifestyles and starting new families (Brim 1973: 10). H. Levinson (1969) describes the middle-aged change in family relationships characterized by intense feelings of loss for children who are leaving and parents and friends who are dying. The loss of children as the focal point in the family creates problems in a marriage in that often the original basis for the marriage has been eroded. Pascal (1975:11) notes the high levels of interest in

career shifting among the divorced and widowed. This is indicative of a common situation wherein career change is often accompanied by (or in some cases the result of) a change in marital status (Entine 1975:3; Clopton 1972; Lowenthal, forthcoming, cited in Brim 1974; Center for Creative Leadership 1974:35). The Parnes and Nestel study (1971) of the pre-retirement years contains data which indicate that marital stability is very closely related to occupational stability. Sofer (1970) observes a significant relationship between satisfaction with career and marital stability.

H. Levinson (1969:54) discusses two forms of defensive behavior among middle-managers which develop under these stresses. First he observes the repression or denial of feelings of closeness or affection among those who are directly related to the career. This often results in the repression of anger or guilt which necessitates emotional detachment. The second type of defensive behavior is inevitable in the individual's attempt at being "King of the Hill". Continuous pursuit of this position involves a psychologically alert state of readiness resulting in considerable stress.

Lowenthal (forthcoming, cited in Brim, 1974) in her study of role loss transitions does not believe that such changes are necessarily accompanied by crises, but are instead "transitions in personality . . . both incremental

and decremental changes. . . ., a phase of life over, but new growth and development ahead." Her perspective of development is in terms of changes in roles as a result of external events. Neugarten and Datan (1973:58) also view the life cycle as a series of social roles, socialization being the learning of and continuous adaptation to new roles and patterns. These patterns, she contends, occur in a very orderly, prescribed, rigid sequence, according to the expectations and norms of that particular culture. They often function as a form of social control.

Another view of mid-life is that external events, that cause dramatic changes in lifestyle, are the precipitators of a crisis. Neugarten (1972) believes that these precipitating events are incidents that are unanticipated or that occur out of order. She identifies incidents that are unanticipated or that occur out of order. The early death of a parent, early or late birth of a child, or some other break in the expected sequence of life events are stresses that may bring about a crisis. Soddy (1967) echoes this theory in maintaining that familial and social discontinuities account for problems in mid-life. Soddy also claims that stereotyped attitudes and societal expectations account for the idea of increasing rigidity in mid-life. He attempts to eradicate some of the "aging" myths and biased biological reports that are the source of such attitudes. Similarly, Cain (1964:

254) believes that stereotypic images, promoted in the medical literature, often associate the functions of adulthood entirely with reproduction and child rearing. After completion of these tasks, it is implied that adults are of no further use to society. Similarly, an emphasis on American popular culture is often intent upon the prolongation of youth, physical appearance, sexual interests and activities. In response to this, Linden and Courtly (1953:906) maintain that the elderly have a considerable amount to offer in a complex society as ours where extended periods of socialization and communication of values may increase societal stability. Furthermore, as Wright (1974:6) has pointed out, there is no one prescription for successful aging. Whereas maintenance of youthful appearance and activity may be appropriate for some, others may find complete satisfaction in a gradual slowing down or relaxation. Strauss (1959:91) is critical of the inflexibility of many models that neglect to account for the variability of individuals by presenting developmental stages that end in "attainment of some form". He proposes a theory of development that involves extended life-long socialization whereby an individual continually changes and therefore continually influences others.

Brim (1974:12) observes that external social events, i.e., wars, depressions, famines, etc. will have varying

consequences on the mid-life period. Neugarten (1973:58) carries the concept further in her review of middle age in its historical sense - a period that has grown out of the substantial increase in longevity since the turn of the century. She emphasizes the importance of historical time including long-term processes such as urbanization and industrialization as well as economic, social, and political events. These historical processes, she claims, gradually alter the social institutions that directly influence the life-course of the individuals who experience them, as well as those who follow. She uses the example of the soldier who goes to war, leaving a child fatherless for the first years of his life and a wife who has reduced economic, physical, and emotional support. Neugarten emphasizes the importance of the cohort effect in an analysis of life span development. She observes that the needs of different cohorts -- individuals with the same demographic and age related characteristics, who have experienced certain historical events -- will have needs and expectations different from those who proceeded or will follow them. World War I and the Depression of the 1930's are two examples. Similarly, Bell notes some of the generation effects on job satisfaction, in that the societal changes taking place between each generation of people may encourage greater aspirations and different expectations (1975:30). J. Shepard (1970) and Herrick (1972)

echo this notion in their observation of the steadily increasing work expectations of immigrants since 1889, each generation experiencing new social changes that significantly raise the level of expectation among workers.

Attempts at Typology

A number of students of mid-life career change have attempted to develop typologies of career shifters. Clopton, (1972) in his examination of shifters and persisters, has attempted to arrive at a typology of personalities characteristic of voluntary changers. He provides us with the basis for a predictive scheme that may help identify potential changers. Clopton studied two groups of males (between the ages of thirty and fifty-five), one of which was pursuing or recently had obtained an advanced degree for the purpose of changing careers; this group was designated "shifters". The second group, the "persisters", had similar occupational, educational and marital histories and had expressed a "moderately strong" desire to change careers. However, they did not make any change. Interviews, life history evaluations and several psychological tests were used to evaluate the difference between these two groups.

Clopton found that the shifters were more likely to have made a career change when there was sufficient financial support, participation in counseling or therapy,

and accompanying a change in marital status. There was only partial support for the hypothesis that "shifters possess a greater sense of self-esteem and a keener awareness of personal mortality." (79) Clopton's other hypotheses regarding various personality traits were unsupported by his data, although he noted some trends regarding reformulation of personal goals, disillusionment with present career and awareness of alternative types of work that might provide more satisfaction. Although there have been criticisms of his methods and evaluation (Pascal, 1975:14) this exploratory study indicates the potential value of information concerning the types of individuals, and situations that predispose one towards career shifting. He arrived at a three part classification scheme that identifies the shifter. Type A: shifts that occur as a consequence of a major precipitating event which causes a drastic change in lifestyle and attitudes. Type B: shifts that occur gradually, the result of alienation and disillusionment. Type C: shifts that occur after the realization that another type of work would be more satisfying. However, type A is really a subtype of the others in that the realization that another career would be more fulfilling is the element common to B and C. B and C refer to "push" and "pull" motivating factors comparable to Herzberg's motivator-hygiene distinction; A is simply a special event which encourages action.

This attempt to establish a typology bears interesting similarities to Friedman and Rosenman's (1974) description of "Type A behavior", establishing a link between certain types of behavior and coronary heart disease. An analogy can be drawn with regard to the fact that "Type A's" attempt to maintain rigid control over external and internal life forces, thereby making them inflexible and undesirable candidates for a risky career change. On the other hand, they may be the individuals who act impulsively in order to attain their goals and may indeed be the most hard hit by a mid-life crisis.

Roberts (1974) has made a significant attempt at establishing a typology in her study of forty individuals who had made a career change. Although her subjects were career "dropouts", a useful analogy can be drawn. She analyzed the past experiences, frustrations, preconditions, precipitating factors, and alternatives of these individuals. She then discussed the actual act of dropping out and the mechanisms and groups that have sustained the dropout. Roberts found that many of the frustrations seemed to be the result of a discrepancy between their perception of what work ought to be and what it was in reality. Her analysis proceeded in terms of Becker's (1963) sequential model of deviance, taking into account the notion that all factors do not operate simultaneously. Instead, behavior patterns develop in a sequence - the

result of intrinsic personality differences, desires and expectations and followed by preconditions that facilitate access to alternatives. Becker suggests that an individual will become involved in deviant behavior only if he has participated in a certain sequence of events: 1) alienation from present occupation (motivator) 2) other precipitating factors - a single event or unsatisfactory conditions (hygiene) 3) awareness and availability of alternatives. In other words, even if the influences and precipitators of a shift are great, the change cannot be realized without the presence of various opportunities that provide access to alternatives.

With regard to specific personality traits and tendencies, she found that the risk factor and notions of impulsivity were unsubstantiated by her study. Instead, she found the need for control, structure, and ordering of their lives, a crucial factor in the decision to drop out; and a rejection of institutionally imposed structure. This echoes the previously mentioned concern and need for a sense of personal control over one's life during the "mid-life" crisis. The availability of finances and absence of dependents and other related responsibilities were the primary preconditions which allowed for these changes. The sustaining mechanisms were effected by the "contagious effect" of other people dropping out. Roberts emphasizes the importance of a reference group having similar ideologies and beliefs with which to identify. Often this was

further facilitated by collective living or by correspondence with others in similar circumstances (pp. 137-9).

This description of career dropout is a living example of Veiga's (1973) multidimensional model in that only with the combination of many precipitators, conditions, and alternatives, can the shift occur. Becker differs, however, in his contention that there are sequential rather than concurrent factors at work. Shepard and Herrick (1972:157) in their survey of blue collar workers, attempted to establish the essential differences between the candidates for second careers and non-candidates. Income, education, and monetary variables appeared to be irrelevant. The differences were found with regard to the social/psychological variables - candidates expressing greater dissatisfaction, low autonomy, high aspiration/achievement discrepancy, and little opportunity for mobility.

Dougharty (1975:61) gives an extensive analysis of manpower forecasting for the purposes of identifying the course of demand for various occupations in the future. This could provide information on the numbers and nature of the potential new career candidates, assisting in the formulation of a typology. This data could also supply current job change seekers with information concerning future job prospects. However, his review has clearly

shown the ineffectiveness of manpower forecasting for these purposes. The techniques have been most accurate in dealing with conditions which are established, predictable and rather slow to change. However, major economic shifts and occurrences that result in major upheavals in terms of supply and demand in the job market, cannot be accurately predicted. Manpower forecasting techniques focus on trends that are predictable and slow moving, yet the sudden, drastic economic shifts and dislocations are much more likely to cause unemployment for mid-lifers. From an economic standpoint, career changing is a reflection of radical economic changes that result in changing skill demands. However, manpower forecasting cannot predict nor accommodate these shifts. The estimates of employment fail to identify the crucial variables concerning potential candidates. They do not reveal information concerning the size, location, and age of these individuals. In addition to this, they are of little use to the prospective job changer in that they cannot give a reliable indication of the likelihood of employment following training. Nor can they provide much information on the longevity of a career, the nature or demand for a particular age group, or for any particular skills.

6. Literature on Policy and Reform

There is a great deal of literature on current programs and proposals which attempt to facilitate career changes by offering various services. An analysis of this literature reveals the need for certain services without which mid-career changes are virtually impossible, save for the most exceptional individuals. We will briefly review some of these programs. However, we will not deal with the implications of these programs in depth. They have been divided into general categories: 1) those dealing with continuing education or retraining programs, 2) those concerning counseling (personal and occupational), 3) those concerning the problems related to financing, 4) those dealing with theories and proposals for a flexible work life.

1) Continuing Education or Retraining Programs

Training, in many cases retraining or continuing education, is frequently an essential condition for mid-career changes. Dubin (1972) discusses the importance of continuing education to the professional who must cope with the knowledge explosion and the threat of obsolescence. There are for the average middle-aged individual, however, very few jobs that he can simply jump into without some sort of reorientation.

Belbin and Belbin (1968) discuss the problems of the middle aged man involved in a management related job.

These men, dismissed after years of work, are forced to compete with the young men who have new technical skills and graduate degrees. Their years of experience may mean nothing (The man who claimed 20 years of experience is reminded, ". . . you mean one year's experience, repeated 20 times.") (1968:342). These men will have to be re-trained.

Even the unskilled jobs (which are steadily diminishing with increasing technological change) will require a new approach to working. Haug and Sussman (1967) maintain that the professions involving long periods of training are usually eliminated as possible alternatives unless they can be studied part time while pursuing the first career. Those occupations which require a minimum additional amount of training, i.e., an additional degree, certification, or on the job training) are those which will attract the career switchers. However, rapidly expanding occupational fields with minimum requirements, rapid upward mobility and increased status and pay, may attract so many candidates as to make competition the determining factor.

Entrance or re-entry into graduate school, and the subsequent increase in the level of formal education, could permit the individual to enter a profession or borderline profession. Otherwise, the individual may simply move up into a position of increased responsibility

within an organization. Finally, the middle aged person may enter an entirely new field -- a complete career change. This increase in the number of students returning to graduate and professional schools can be attributed to the increasing technological change that has opened up many new areas for research in the fields of science and technology. These new developments also often create new careers in an applied form such as paramedical help and medical technicians. This was confirmed by Hiestand's (1971) study of a sample of seventy middle aged students currently enrolled in a graduate or professional school.

Hiestand (1971) conducted a study investigating the factors that aid in the decision to change a career after the age of thirty-five. He evaluated those changers who entered a full-time program in graduate school: this investment of time usually involved a significant change in career plans. He believes that there are several motivations for re-entry into graduate school in mid-life. For some, there is a desire to improve themselves either for professional or personal reasons. Others may be compelled to change careers as a result of financial problems or additional family responsibilities. Hiestand found that the majority were more concerned with personal and intellectual growth and the desire to acquire new skills rather than for financial gain. The type of career change was directly related to the particular motivating

force. Hiestand's study is out of date, however, from the point of view of the present oversupply of individuals with college and university credentials. Nevertheless, Hiestand's study implies that experimental programs should be aimed at groups with differing types of motivation.

Military retirement policy has been based on the assumption that there is a high rate of transference of skills from the military to the civilian occupational structure. Sharp and Biderman (January 1967:15) conducted a study of the second career experience of retired servicemen in an attempt to see if this assumption is well founded. They reported that a satisfactory transfer of skills from the military to civilian labor does exist, but is primarily dependent upon level of formal education. This factor was more important than military experience in that it is measurable by civilian employers. Military rank and education were highly correlated with respect to the type of job the individual found; age was insignificant. The higher ranking officers, who tended to have college degrees, were concentrated in the professional and administrative positions.

Although the acquired military skills were transferable, it was rare that a specific military specialty skill was matched to a civilian job (even in those that appear highly transferable, i.e., medical technologist,

electrician). Aircraft piloting and other related skills were not transferable in that an age barrier exists in the civilian counterpart.* Sharp and Biderman concluded that while the skills acquired in the military were undoubtedly an asset in the civilian jobs, they did not aid in their transition to and employment in the civilian labor force. Personnel were judged according to the traditional, formal indices of education and personality (including variables such as military rank). The respondents also reported that their specific skills were not utilized or recognized by their civilian employers. This feeling was most prevalent among those servicemen who were high-achievers in the military because of their abilities, skills and experience, but who lacked formal education. In the civilian world their skills and experience are under-rated. No such feelings of skill underutilization were reported by those who had formal education.

Sharp and Biderman investigated the expectations of their sample concerning the re-entry into the civilian job market. Although they were aware of some of the

---

* The military pilots would be required to participate in a lengthy apprenticeship at very low pay, after which their actual years of employment would be few.

problems of finding employment which would be as rewarding and satisfying as their military job, they were generally optimistic about the transition. Few of the servicemen had envisioned the need for a college degree or further training in order to make a successful entry into civilian employment. But rigid credentials requirements make formal education a necessity for employment in many civilian institutions. *

The implications of all this are clear. What is needed is an institutionalized program of continuing education. This requires a change in the traditional conception of education as something for the young. The middle aged man in a first year law or medical school is something of an anomaly. When education for the older individual becomes more socially acceptable, the middle aged individual is less likely to be so reluctant to change and more likely to find fewer constraining forces.

An important question arises concerning the benefits of continued education vs. on-the-job training and placement. W. Dunn (1975:98) deals directly with this issue in his analysis of government sponsored redirection

---

* It must be realized that the transfer from a military to a civilian occupation (in most instances after 20 years) is in some respects atypical of mid-career changes. It involves a change in one's entire lifestyle. The military is a total institution; the switch is to a new, less structured environment which requires a different self-conception and a new approach to work.

programs. His review of manpower programs reveals that institutional retraining, unless needed to fulfill credential requirements or for maintenance of a certain income was not seen as a necessary factor in career redirection. However, his study reveals that on-the-job training, which includes placement, is superior to institutionalized training alone. However, his conclusions are limited by the fact that he is reviewing only government sponsored programs in terms of cost/benefit analyses. This information will probably only hold for certain sectors of the population. For others, continuing education is the road to a new career.

The Academy for Education Development, in the publication entitled Never Too Old to Learn (1974) provides a review and description of the nature and characteristics of the existing continuing education programs for older people. It also provides a basic guideline for the establishment or expansion of programs. Their particular concern is with the involvement of already existing institutions that provide this service. The information was obtained from responses to a detailed questionnaire as well as in-depth interviews with faculty, administrators, and leaders in the fields of education, gerontology, and various social agencies. (For an annotated bibliography on continuing education programs from this source, see appendix B.)

2) Counseling

The literature dealing with counseling programs is minimal. Throughout the literature, suggestions and recommendations for counseling services are numerous, yet at the present time there exists no comprehensive personal as well as occupational counseling service (the military comes closest). Clopton's (1972) data indicated that mid-life career change was frequently accompanied by psychotherapy. This personal psychotherapy may be essential in helping an individual deal with the stresses of the mid-life crisis. Personal accounts of individual successful career changes tend to confirm the need for and usefulness of counseling and therapy (Rogers:1973).

Adequate counseling is important even when the second career has links with the first. Bookbinder (1955), in his study of the work histories of retired baseball players, re-affirms this need even if the career is in a baseball-related field, e.g., managerial, coaching or scouting. New skills will still be necessary.

In W. Dunn's (1975:101) review of the literature on counseling relating to government sponsored redirection programs, he found confirmation of the conclusions that counseling is a fundamental part of training. He referred particularly to the Vocational Rehabilitation program as one in which counseling plays a major role.

Veroff (Dunn 1975:102) believes that the role of counseling is to lower the individual's job expectations to a more realistic level - one that coincides with the current job market. He sees this role magnified for mid-career changers in that their reasons for change may more likely be motivated by extreme dissatisfaction and accompanied by a high aspiration. It is more likely that these individuals will be more unrealistic.

A comprehensive occupational and personal counseling service is therefore an essential prerequisite to any mid-life career change. This would involve assistance with the exploratory stage involving interest and aptitude testing in order to identify the appropriate field of work. This counseling service should also maintain a repository of information regarding job descriptions, demands, availability and location, in addition to providing a systematic two way channel of communication with potential employers and educational institutions. Finally, they must be equipped with employer contacts and placement services to enable the career shifter to have access to the alternatives.

3) Financing

The problems concerning the financing of a mid-career change are enormous. Unfortunately, adequate solutions have not yet been developed. They would involve financial support during the transition phase, as well as

money for the additional educational or retraining costs. In addition to this, the individual and his family may have to adjust to a decrease in salary once the new career has begun (Roberts 1974; Dyer 1973).

Kinn (1973) discusses the activities of the Department of Labor's Technology Mobilization and Re-employment Program that has assisted the financing of short term education to aid in the transition to a new occupation. He also discusses various government and foundation sponsored programs that have been directly related to the retraining of engineers. Programs such as these should be made available to all who are interested. The Group for Human Development in Higher Education discusses the conditions which might encourage the occurrence of mid-career changes for professors who may desire to leave academic life (1974). They suggest that insurance benefits should be available for those who decide to change careers, thereby eliminating the problem of financial risk. This, they claim, would alleviate the problem of tenure, which handcuffs an individual to a profession for which he may no longer be suited. The plan could offer a rising rate of benefits. The cost of supporting an individual during the transition period will not compare to the difference between his salary and the salary of a younger person, hired as a replacement.

4) Flexibility

Flexibility is one of the primary variables that must be considered. Without flexible admissions, part-time options, leaves of absence, and work/study options the mid-career change is virtually impossible. Glickman and Brown (1974) discuss current patterns and trends in the organization of work and non-work activities. They focus on the issue of flexibility and attempt to show how it can be programmed into even the most rigid of work styles. They foresee a demand for increasing flexibility as a change in work styles accompanies the overall societal changes. But, they realize the necessity for policy reform, i.e., changes in labor laws, planned leisure activities, that will have to accommodate to increasing demands. Greater flexibility could, they maintain, open up the job market to more women, the elderly, and the handicapped. Perhaps this type of planned/institutionalized flexibility would allow an individual to enter a second career or provide enough time to encourage the avocation to vocation pattern.

G. Rehn (1974) proposes several reforms of this type in order to incorporate flexibility into the working life. She cites several societal trends towards an increase in participation in continuing education and retraining programs, increasing participation of females in the work force, and various economic trends,

i.e., urbanization, expanding services sector of the work force, rising level of income, inflation, etc. These forces, she believes, all contribute towards the need for flexibility in work life. Hiestand (1971) discusses the need for more flexible admissions policies and university sponsored programs for those interested in continuing their education at mid-life.

J. Kreps (1971:4) discusses the fact that there is more leisure time available as a result of a rise in productivity per man hour. Accompanying this is a rising level of education and rising expectations with regard to the uses of free time. This leads to increased flexibility and choice in one's career pattern. In order to incorporate flexible career patterns into work life we must first identify the preferences of the different occupational groups and determine what has caused these preferences. The next step would involve an analysis of the constraints which served as barriers to a career change. With the knowledge of the preferences and impediments, Kreps believes, we can identify the necessary policy changes.

Murray, Powers, and Havighurst (1971) discuss the variables that facilitate flexible career patterns. They first identify the degree to which career changing is the result of pressure from the environment vs. pressure from the self. They have developed a typology

with labels for the career types that result in response to the varying degress of internal and external motivations. This was established for the purpose of developing an approach - a research tool - to aid in the study of flexible career and lifestyles during the adult years. They have provided an interview format which would reflect the crucial variables and motivations. They used this format in interviews with three groups of individuals and have placed them at various points on the career typology, according to their motivational type.

7. Programs to Facilitate Career Change

A number of programs have attempted to overcome the constraints attending the transition to a mid-life career change.

The New Careers Project at Columbia University, directed by Dr. Alan Entine, provides an interesting model (Sheppard & Herrick, 1972: 161). The purpose of the program was to allow individuals in positions of responsibility in the business world to make career changes into service types of work. Participation was full-time, and each participant was given $1000 toward tuition in a graduate degree program at the university. The program began in 1963; by 1968 fifty individuals had participated and the program had expanded the range

of opportunities to those without a degree. Entine's two major recommendations were 1) The need for financial assistance in the form of living allowances or grants. As an alternative, he proposes flexibility in terms of reliable time options and part-time work. 2) The second necessity is the provision of counseling services indicating the nature and characteristics of alternatives and providing information concerning specific employment opportunities. In the New Careers Project, occupational counseling was provided in monthly seminars for such purposes. In addition to this, counseling for personal, academic, and employment problems was provided through the services of the University. Entine contends that the primary impediments to career change involve lack of knowledge about alternatives, self-knowledge, training, funds, and placement. Entine is now at Stony Brook and has established a Mid Career Counseling and Information Program. The purpose of this program is to "provide individuals in their middle and older years with information and advice about [career] opportunities" (Entine 1974). The program is geared towards those who are dissatisfied, experiencing skill obsolescence, or contemplating early retirement.

Many programs have recently been developed for adult women (at least 300 in colleges and universities)

(Aanstad 1972); many were developed in response to the women's movement. Women have been encouraged to consider full time work as an alternative to or in addition to the traditional household duties. Furthermore, the increasing number of divorces and separations have placed many women in the role of head of household and have facilitated their entry into the work force. One such program, the Job Horizons pilot program at Middlesex County College, was developed to retrain housewives who had been away from study or work for several years (Reynolds, et. al, 1969). The purpose is to retrain them for clerical work. Personal as well as academic counseling was emphasized throughout the program on an individual and group basis. The goals of this program were as follows: 1) provision of training at college level for specific skills needed in the labor market. 2) to develop self-confidence and aid in the transition and adjustment to a new role in society. The participants reported several variables that sustained them and allowed them to continue: family cooperation cutting down in time spent in household, the demand for clerical help, the specificity of the training, flexible scheduling, and the availability of counseling.

The Department of Defense has a program known as the Referral program which assists retired servicemen

in their attempt to enter second careers (Ullman 1971). They have a comprehensive program involving a counseling service and a computer man-job matching system. The computer receives inputs from potential employers as well as retiring servicemen. When employer requirements match with the servicemen's qualifications, the information is sent to the employer who can proceed to interview or employ the individual. This service is provided six months before and six months following retirement.

Biderman (1973) discussed the conditions surrounding a military-civilian convergence, and the tendency of retired servicemen to work in federal civil service jobs. One-third of all retired enlisted men held federal civil service jobs as second careers. Two-thirds of these individuals worked in the defense related agencies. Therefore, the convergence is most successful when there is a full employment economy with thriving defense and space exploration programs. Today they are experiencing increasing difficulty in the job market because of reduced commitments to space exploration and the overall unemployment trend. Furthermore, the recent unpopularity of the military has resulted in the lowered esteem of servicemen. Consequently they are not as easily accepted and welcomed by civilian employers. They are further hindered by the rigid seniority and

hierarchical structures of many civilian employment systems. Therefore, the relatively few constraints in the public service occupations account for the high percentage of retired servicemen who choose this type of work. Janowitz (Biderman 1973:160) proposes the all voluntary, two part career. The first half of the career would be direct involvement with the military; the second part would involve federal, state, or local public service. Ideally, there would be a great deal of flexibility and movement between the two.

As discussed earlier, the problem of transferability of skills continues to be a problem. However, computerized skill matching is a significant attempt at overcoming this barrier. The counseling of the servicemen focuses on the identification of abilities and skills that may be transferable to civilian jobs. They examine the individual's skills, underlying abilities, values, and experiences, for the purpose of organizing a biography to be used as a tool for employment search. The Referral program is based on the activity theory, claiming that full time employment is a necessity for the personal adjustment of the military retiree. However, they are flexible in that they realize that, while the individual will want to utilize the skills he has developed, he may "look for meanings in work that are different from those they valued when they were younger."

K. Collings (1971) has prepared a handbook in order to assist the retired serviceman's search for a civilian career in mid-life. His book provides basic information about mid-life, case histories of others, some available alternatives, and some practical information on job seeking skills.

W. Dunn (1975:87-121) reviews the literature on government sponsored manpower programs and centers in on those issues central to this type of program, i.e., direct placement vs. training, recommendations for counseling, and organizational form. He also surveys the literature on employer-sponsored retraining programs and concludes that a viable employer-sponsored career redirection program would involve mainly referral and counseling services that would involve the interaction of the entire employer community. Otherwise, the employer will probably be unwilling to have a comprehensive training program when he will lose those who he has invested money and time in.

Thompson (1975:122-131) reviewed the literature on union sponsored programs and revealed that the provision of counseling, vocational training in other fields, and extensive job information services are "relatively" effective in helping displaced workers become re-employed in new fields. The primary obstacle appeard to be the unawareness of alternatives and lack

of "job search skills"; the assistance provided by many of the union sponsored programs appears to overcome some of these barriers.

Thompson (1975:140-158) also evaluated the successful as well as unsuccessful programs that attempted to aid unemployed aerospace engineers and scientists. She found that those programs which were not limited to technical courses of training and those that did provide counseling and job information services were the most effective.

In Pascal's (1975:147) review of the literature on part time adult education programs, he arrives at the following recommendations - the need for: educational and employment counseling, limited course loads, flexible schedules, liberal credit transfer policies, experience credits, neighborhood classes, child care centers for mothers, scholarship aid, independent study, programmed learning, and job placement assistance. Counseling, he found, was the most important feature of any program.

The State University of Florida at Tallahassee established a special program sponsored by the State Board of Regents which provided a one-year administrative internship for tenured teaching faculty who were then placed in administrative positions. This program, which has

been in operation for several years, has only succeeded in re-routing about two dozen academics from the teaching faculty. The feeling among faculty at Tallahassee was reported to be that the program has not worked out well, partly because of a stigma attached to selection for those administrative internships, an implication that individuals were being marked off as academic "deadwood".

The New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations had applied for federal grand funds for 1973-4 for an ambitious second-career program aimed at blue collar workers. Dr. Barbara Wertheimer, Labor Program Specialist of the N.Y. State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University, made available to us the grant proposal which was unfortunately not funded.

The Rockefeller Foundation was approached by the American Studies Association with regard to the funding of a demonstration project focusing on the humanities. The basic concept was to encourage shifts out of the colleges and universities on the part of faculty with advanced training in the humanities, and into business, government and other areas of work. Rather than funding the demonstration project, the Foundation chose instead to grand funds for a book on a somewhat broader theme, to be entitled The Uses of the Humanities. The emphasis in this study will be on new functions for the humanities in industrial society, though the aspect reflecting an

interest in mid-life career change is still present. Prof. Rita Jacobs, of Montclair State College, New Jersey, is working on the book. Alan Davis, Executive Secretary of the American Studies Association, and John Hague, together with Prof. Jacobs, were involved in the original grant proposal. Dr. Lydia Bronte of the Rockefeller Foundation was the program officer who had initial responsibility and she provided us with the information.

Finally, two programs came to our attention as this paper was being typed. The College Entrance Examination Board has received a grant of $108,000 from the National Institute of Education to study the career guidance and counseling needs of adults. The Board will contact adults who have changed or who intend to change jobs and will use a telephone survey to find out which kinds of career guidance services proved useful to them. A follow-up study of an adult-career counseling project in Providence, R. I., will also be carried out to determine the effectiveness of the project. The Providence project was part of a $3,000,000 effort to provide at-home counseling for thousands of adults, three-fourths of them women.

The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation is supporting a study of changing career opportunities for doctorates in the humanities. Since the focus of this study will be on about 15,000 currently enrolled graduate students

in five humanistic disciplines, it is of necessity oriented toward the future in its approach to "the creative management of decline" in job opportunities. But one of the five aspects of this project is directly relevant to the subject of mid-life career change today. "From an examination of job experiences outside academia, we hope to identify the range of nonteaching careers open to people with advanced training in the humanities. An effort will be made to discover approximately how many such jobs there are, how many openings may develop in the foreseeable future, organization and agencies having the largest numbers of such jobs, the educational backgrounds of people in them, and points of entry, levels of compensation, and career paths involved." The project will be administered by the Higher Education Research Institute, a nonprofit institute adjacent to the U.C.L.A. campus. The principal investigators are: Allan M. Cartter, Professor of Higher Education, U.C.L.A; Ernest R. May, Professor of History, Harvard University; Lewis C. Solmon, executive director of the Higher Education Research Institute, and Dorothy G. Harrison, N.Y. State Education Department. This study began in July, 1975 and the completion is scheduled for Fall, 1977.

8. Research Recommendations

There is evidence that there are many members of the work force who would be interested in special programs to facilitate mid-life career change. We have a special interest, however, with respect to college and university faculty. An experimental, demonstration project with research built in would best serve the needs of this group at the same time that it provided valuable research data which are lacking at the present time with regard to mid-life career change. What follows below is an attempt to sketch out the context of such a study.

Two central ideas form our recommendations for potential research alternatives--ideas which are discussed in the review of literature above.

a) The concept of normal adult development as involving age-linked stages with associated developmental tasks; and the concept of the "mid-life crisis" which is related to these tasks, seems to us to represent an important potential advance in social psychology. One of the most important implications of the work done by Levinson, et. al., Clopton, Brim, Roberts and others is that mid-career redirection is not "pathological"; on the contrary, many individuals find themselves needlessly trapped in situations which constrain their adult development.

b) The idea that voluntary mid-career change is desired by many individuals who could thereby achieve a richer life

(though not necessarily a higher income) may be linked with specific manpower problems in selected institutional areas such as the current oversupply of college and university faculty. Thus the needs of certain individuals to shift out of college and university teaching, research and administration might dovetail with the needs of young Ph.D.'s for employment opportunities. A considerable convergence of empirical indicators as reported above shows that even in the ranks of business executives and professionals there are still somewhere between 5% and 15% of discontented individuals who would be very interested in mid-life career change. A close look at the American Council on Education survey (Bayer, 1973) is warranted with reference to the academic professional. A national sample of more than 100,000 college and university faculty was surveyed; the response rate was 49%, with Ph.D.'s over-represented by contract with non-Ph.D.'s. The responses to the following statement are given here by sex and institutional type:

"If I had a chance to retrace my steps, I would not choose an academic life." One of the highlights of the reports, as noted by the authors, was that 13.5% of the respondents indicated that they either "strongly agree" or "agree with reservations" (other alternative answers were "disagree with reservations" and"strongly disagree") with this statement. Note that the differences between the sexes and by type of institution were not very large.

Weighted National Normative Distribution, by Sex and Type of Institutional Setting, for College and University Teaching Faculty, 1972-73 Academic Year

All Institutions			Two Year Colleges			Four Year Colleges		
Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
13.9	12.1	13.5	15.2	15.5	15.2	14.8	10.6	13.9

Universities		
Men	Women	Total
12.6	11.9	12.5

When these figures are seen in the context of other empirical data reported by Tarnowieski, Carp, Sheppard, Clopton, Roberts, Levinson, Pascal and others, it would appear that interest in mid-life career change is considerable, and not merely among "disadvantaged" or blue-collar populations.

A consideration of these two central ideas, then, coupled with the desirability of increased flexibility in the timing and allocation of time to education, leisure and work life as advocated by Kreps, Havighurst, and Rehn results for us in a sense that research in this area should take a specific direction. This direction would emphasize experimental demonstration projects with research built in (including control groups), which would offer individuals the kind of support needed to help them to achieve mid-life career change.

We would suggest the possibility of first establishing a data base through a secondary analysis of the ACE survey

material. What interests us is the opportunity to discover the differences between the group agreeing with the statement cited above (which constituted over 6000 faculty) and a random sample of individuals who disagreed with the statement. This random sample would have to be stratified so that the major demographic characteristics of the potential shifts (such as age, sex, type of institution, marital status, tenure status) would also be controlled. It would then be possible to study those factors which differentiated the two groups, and thereby to develop an important data base for the study of a group of faculty who are potentially interested in mid-career re-direction. The cost of such a secondary analysis is very small by comparison with doing the survey itself.

We explored the question of costs with Ms. Jeannie Royer, Director of Data Accessing Services at the American Council on Education. (Ms. Royer worked on the faculty study under Alan Bayer, who is no longer at ACE.) She believes that profiles of the agreeing group and the disagreeing group could be developed, and that computer work, data analysis and write-up would cost about $4,000 (Her letter is attached as Appendix C). Such profiles could be very useful in exploring policy alternatives as these relate to college and university faculty. No research on this specific data file has yet been conducted so far as we know.

Since we are interested in research on academic professionals, we should attempt to gain access to two interesting groups of case studies: the academic "dropouts" in the Roberts dissertation and the ten case studies of academic biologists (in a wide range of sub-fields) in the [forthcoming] study by Daniel Levinson and his associates. It is not enough to have survey data; detailed, intensive case studies are necessary to illuminate the meaning that mid-life career change has for particular individuals when it occurs (not all of the individuals in the Levinson study were shifters). Of course control groups are not available though the Levinson study has a sample divided among industrial workers, industrial executives, academic biologists and novelists, a total of forty cases with ten in each category. Nevertheless, it will be important for us to have access to detailed case material if it can be made available.

Counseling

All students of this program agree that a counseling program for potential mid-life career shifters represents a top priority. The literature has consistently emphasized the need for a comprehensive counseling program that will provide personal, academic and occupational services. As with so many aspects of this problem, however, not much has been done about it.

Personal Counseling or Therapy

Personal, individual counseling with trained counselors or psychologists is essential in that the literature revealed the important role of the career as a primary source of self-image. A career change may be a traumatic threat to one's identity. Furthermore, many of one's deep-seated needs may have been fulfilled by the original career; the career change may leave the participant dissatisfied and unfulfilled. A counselor or psychologist could provide emotional support to the individual during this transition and help in the identity transformation as well as the identification of new or unmet needs. Counseling or therapy may be particularly important for this group of individuals in that the onset of mid-life may be accompanied by all types of physiological problems, familial role changes, and biased societal attitudes and expectations. If, during mid-life, a crisis develops, the need for counseling or therapy will be essential.

Career counseling

Unrealistic desires (Dunn 1975) and lack of self knowledge (Entine) can be disastrous. Career counselors should meet individually with each participant in order to realistically assess the individual's specific skills, values, needs and interests and assist him in the choice of a second career that would be appropriate for the individual's needs and desires. They might make use of adult interest and aptitude tests or other exploratory diagnostic tests in order to

pinpoint a particular field of work. The participant could then be referred to academic counseling if the need for further education or retraining is established.

Academic counseling

Academic counselors could help establish the needs and benefits of continuing education or retraining for each individual. They should have access to information regarding descriptions of continuing education or retraining programs, entrance requirements, degree of flexibility in scheduling and crediting, and certification or degree requirements. They should assist the individual's attempt at entering one of these programs and continue to be available for any academic related programs that may arise during the course of study. If women with children were involved, these counselors might try to locate or establish day care centers and be particularly aware of the academic programs that allow for flexible scheduling.

Occupational Services

After personal, career, and academic counseling has been provided the individual could make use of an occupational service that would provide extensive information as well as access to alternative sources of employment. First this service should provide general vocational information concerning employment prospects and demand for different occupational skills (manpower forecasting has thus far been proven ineffective for this purpose - Pascal 1975). The format for presentation

of this information might resemble the New Careers Project (Entine 1972) in which various individuals would discuss the existing opportunities, problems that may arise, and methods of skill utilization in monthly seminars. A repository of information regarding job descriptions, specific conditions of work, education level or skill requirements, availability, and location should also be established so that an individual can be fully aware of the specific nature of the available alternatives. Finally, a placement service must be instituted. A two-way flow of information and computerized skill matching service similar to the Referral system (Ullman 1971) offered in the military, would provide an up-to-date, efficient means of communication between career changers and potential employers.*

Coordination of Services

One possibility would involve the integration and coordination of all the counseling services into a team of advisors and counselors. In this way the progress of each participant could be evaluated in its totality. The individuals on the team could direct themselves particularly to the handling of problems of mid-life within their special area of expertise. Another important characteristic of the counseling programs is their confidentiality, so that there would be no reluctance on the part of the participant to take full advantage of the services.

---

* Such computerized systems have proven to be very costly, however.

Financial Assistance

During the transition period there would be considerable financial need. Not only would there be, in most cases, a lack in coming resources, but often additional funds would be needed for the purpose of financing a continuing education or retraining program, if needed. In addition to this, quite often the second career will involve a substantial cut in salary (Roberts 1974; Dyer 1973).

One possibility for financial assistance was suggested by the Group for Human Development in Higher Education (1974) recommending a plan offering a rising rate of insurance benefits to those who desire to leave academic life. (This proposal is included as Appendix L.) Another solution to the problem of finances might involve the provision of part-time work options (Entine 1972), extended leaves of absence, or work study programs so that a minimal amount of subsidizing would be required. (An excerpt from the recommendations of Pascal (1975:173-80) is included as Appendix E since it deals with experimental pilot programs and financing.)

The social science community has for some time been aware of the need for greater flexibility in the timing of work life, education and leisure for both men and women; of the problems engendered by increasing longevity and occupational obsolescence; of the possibility of the

existence of a "mid-life crisis" as part of normal adult development for many individuals; of the need for greater experimentation with part-time work and phased retirement; and of the need for adaptation on the part of work organizations and other institutions in our society in the attempt to come to grips with these problems, which are societal and do not merely reflect individual "troubles". But this awareness has not been shared by those who control the work organizations and other institutions, and by public policy makers in governments, as pointed out recently by Sheppard, et. al (1972:34). At the present time there is a heightened interest in these questions in many sectors of our society. This is the time for thoughtful experimentation which will at the same time help to institutionalize and legitimize the idea of mid-life career change for those who can benefit from it.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

From Never Too Old to Learn, a report submitted to the Edna McConnell Clark Foundation, 250 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y., by the Academy for Educational Development, Inc., June 1974, pp. 97-108.

PAGES 90-102 OF THIS DOCUMENT WERE REMOVED PRIOR TO ITS BEING SUBMITTED TO THE ERIC DOCUMENT REPRODUCTION SERVICE BECAUSE THEY WOULD NOT REPRODUCE IN MICROFICHE.

Appendix B

From Never Too Old to Learn, a report submitted to the Edna McConnell Clark Foundation, 250 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y., by the Academy for Educational Development, Inc., June 1974 , pp. 87-97.

PAGES 104-113 OF THIS DOCUMENT WERE REMOVED PRIOR TO ITS BEING SUBMITTED TO THE ERIC DOCUMENT REPRODUCTION SERVICE BECAUSE THEY WOULD NOT REPRODUCE IN MICROFICHE.

Appendix C

was removed by author

Appendix D

From Faculty Development in a Time of Retrenchment, by the Group for Human Development in Higher Education, 1974, pp. 75-80.

PAGES 118-122 OF THIS DOCUMENT WERE REMOVED PRIOR TO ITS BEING SUBMITTED TO THE ERIC DOCUMENT REPRODUCTION SERVICE BECAUSE THEY WOULD NOT REPRODUCE IN MICROFICHE.

Appendix E

From Anthony H. Pascal, et. al. An Evaluation of Policy-Related Research on Programs for Mid-Life Career Redirection: Vol. II Major Findings, Rand Corporation R-1582/2NSF February 1975, pp. 173-180.

Experimental Pilot Programs

In spite of the information contained in the literature and in our analysis of the ETS survey data, we still know little about many aspects of designing and conducting an effective career redirection program. We are convinced that the only way to get this information is to experiment. We have therefore designed a series of pilot programs of escalating intensity and scale. If each of the variants were to be tried out in a different city, we would need a method for comparing them. Thus, it would be necessary to collect certain basic information on each, with the end in mind of presenting data to policymakers on the nature and performance of the variants. The data to be collected include:

- Target group: How many are served? What are their characteristics?

- Program costs: What sorts of resources are required to mount the program? From what alternative uses are they withdrawn? What is their value? Are any of the resources in short supply, thus implying bottlenecks which may result from expansion?

- Program Consequences: What is the level of client satisfaction with the services rendered? How many clients effected career changes? With what impact in terms of pay? Status? Security? Job satisfaction? How many clients decided, after exploration, to stick with their original careers? How satisfied were they to do so?

- Measures of consequences, of course, should be based on comparisons with control groups--similar people who did not receive career redirection services.

Following the descriptions of the pilot program variants, we discuss some issues common to all of them.

Variant One: Counseling and Referral Centers. The simplest and most basic intervention would consist merely of a central site for guidance and information dissemination to mid-lifers requiring or interested in career redirection. The Centers would be staffed by vocational counsellors experienced in dealing with the employment problems of the mature client, whether or not the client's previous work had been remunerative. The counsellors would have up-to-date information on where the client could go for testing and diagnosis of vocational problems and aptitudes.

They would also have knowledge about opportunities for institutional and on-the-job training, and about job opportunities that might serve as experimental ventures for the uncertain redirector.

A likely location for the Centers would be the premises of the state employment service office, but the Centers should always be physically distinct enough to preserve their identity. The employment service has the image of serving only the unemployed and, in fact, most of current resources are so devoted. If no visible distinction is made, voluntary redirectors may shy away from the use of unemployment service facilities.

An important function would be to keep track of clients even after they have used the counselling and referral services. In this way the counsellors could continually upgrade the quality of their work by comparing their advice and recommendations with the outcomes for their clients.

Fees for these services should be collected from clients on the basis of ability to pay. Income-scaled fees are currently collected in other social service programs, such as day care. Since fees necessary to cover costs of the services would no doubt be moderate, they can be assessed on pre-redirection income without much danger of inequity toward those whose eventual income dips substantially.

Variant Two: Provision of Vocational and Diagnostic Services. In the second variant, we add provision of testing and diagnosis to the services rendered by the redirection Center. We make the suggestion in the belief that adequate sources of these kinds of services are going to be difficult to find in all but the largest cities. Even where the services do exist, they may be offered by rather dubious "executive job search counsellors," many of whom offer little value for money.

It may be, however, that the state of the art in vocational aptitude testing is not sufficient to justify any major effort in this direction. If so it may be advisable to invest first in further research toward improving the accuracy of such tests.

Again, in both the experimental and subsequent operational phases, the Centers should be directed to collect data on outcomes for comparison with services rendered. It would also be advisable to collect the same data on at least a sample of the clients who do not avail themselves of the more intensive services, but use the Center for merely referral purposes. They can serve, eventually, as a control group against which to test the efficacy of the treatments supplied by the Center.

Variant Three: Support of Training Activities for New Careers. Here and in the ensuing discussion of the organization and financing of mid-career training, we should recognize that we discussing schemes that could promote skill upgrading as well as they do career switching.

In this version, we add to the services provided in the other variants a feature similar to the educational benefits accorded to veterans: coverage of the cost of training for the new career. (We discuss below the issue of whether the grants should cover only tuition, fees, books, and materials, or should also cover costs of maintaining the learner and, if necessary, his family.) Like the GI Bill, the system would operate on the voucher principle. That is, the Center itself would not offer training courses, but would simply compensate the redirector for expenses incurred in preparing for the new career.

Clearly, such a system would require policing. It is important that training grants be used for legitimate job-change activities. It therefore would be necessary to insure that (1) the redirector is, in fact, using the service and not merely converting the "voucher" to cash or using it for avocational purposes, and (2) that the provider of the preparation service (who, in this case, ultimately receives the cash value of the voucher) is not defrauding the redirector with shoddy service. Such policing is not simple but can be done if sufficient resources are allocated to it.

The use of the grants to pursue redirection activities would require the concurrence of the counsellor with whom the redirector worked. Obviously, however, it also would be necessary to build in some kind of appeals mechanism to handle cases of irreconcilable differences between counsellor and client. In this way a coherent program of activities--e.g., classroom instruction, home study, OJT--could be planned, undertaken, and eventually appraised for adequacy in meeting the redirector's objectives.

Community and private organizations offer a wealth of services of possible interest to the redirector, as we have seen. The voucher approach exempts the Center from trying to duplicate them, and enables it to finance the redirector's securing the service. The approach has some close similarities to the Universal Worker Self Renewal Plan advocated in Work in America (1972, pp. 105-107).

Variant Four: Provision of Training Services for New Careers. In the fourth variant, the Center itself offers instruction to clients. (See Chapter 3 for details on effective training approaches for older workers.) This approach makes sense only where adequate preparation opportunities do not exist under other auspices, such as in

remote rural areas, or when massive displacement (as in Seattle in 1971) generates so great a volume of would-be redirectors as to exhaust the capacity of existing vocational training organizations.

The greatest problem here is that the Center will likely find it impossible to offer all the kinds of vocational instruction its clientele may want. People often yearn to enter rather exotic second careers--running an organic plant nursery, opera singing, gourmet cookery, court reporting.

Still, it is conceivable that the demand for more mundane courses--say, in office skills or retail proprietorship--may sometimes be widespread, but the instruction available outside the Center inferior or too costly, in which case it will make sense for the Center itself to offer the service. It is likely to be more cost-effective, however, to arrange for and finance temporary relocation of the redirector to a larger place where the required vocational service is offered.

It is even more interesting to envisage the possibility of a nationwide network of Second Chance Centers that could finance the production of high-quality instructional packages meant for home use. Correspondence materials, video and audio cassettes, cable or UHF TV broadcasts could deliver instruction to the homes of clients. The Centers, themselves, could periodically assemble home-study clients to administer tests, gauge progress, offer advice, and award credentials.

It could turn out that, in certain subjects that require face-to-face teaching, the manpower training agencies, community colleges, universities, trade schools, and the like are not, in general or in some special fields, offering preparation services adequate for the needs of Second Chancers. The network of Centers might then establish instruction facilities for certain clusters of subjects at various sites around the country to which their clients could be sent. Ordinarily, though, it is likely that the combination of vouchers, relocation assistance, and development of home study approaches will suffice. This fourth variant, then, is offered mostly as a logical corollary to others; if sufficient funds for experiment are available, it might be tried in a remote rural area or in a city heavily impacted with older unemployed workers.

Financial Considerations: Coverage

For Variants Three and Four we must decide whether the program of financial assistance is meant to cover only the direct costs of preparation, such as fees, tuition,

books, and materials, or to cover the maintenance of the redirector and his family as well. That is an important issue, and not only because coverage has a profound influence on cost. Koleda (1973) calculates that if one million workers (about 1 percent of the labor force) were granted paid leave each year at levels commensurate with their earnings in prior years, the total cost would be about $6 billion, including employers' costs in continuing fringe benefits and seniority privileges to workers on leave. In contrast, for a direct-cost-only program, even if all workers spent their year on leave as full-time students on a university campus, the costs would only be about one half as high for an equivalent million workers. Clearly, not all of them would choose the university option, as Table 21 confirms. The budget requirements, then, would be correspondingly lower, even adding in the cost of resources not covered by student fees at institutions such as community colleges. Striner (1972) estimates the average direct cost of retraining as about $2000 per person.

But a direct-cost-only program would have other consequences; for one, it would influence the characteristics of the clientele. It would favor people with lighter financial responsibilities, such as housewives with husbands present, workers without children at home, those with pensions such as retired military personnel and policemen, and those who could most easily combine further education with the continuation of paid employment. The social question that needs answering is whether such people deserve help for a second chance more than do those who would be discouraged by a redirection program that subsidized direct costs only.

Financial Considerations: Sources of Funds

"Who pays?" is always an important question, but is often ignored in planning public programs. It is particularly important with respect to mid-life redirection programs as compared, say, with traditional manpower schemes or compensatory education projects, or public housing subsidies, because by intention those second-chance programs are not redistributive in terms of benefits.

In this particular sense the framework for evaluation is similar to the one appropriately used to appraise ordinary higher education schemes in which benefits often go predominantly to persons with incomes well above the median (or who come from families with incomes). There are two kinds of similarities. First, the benefit that justifies the public subsidy is seen to be broadly social: a more educated and integrated citizenry, larger supplies of needed specialists. Second, a subject receiving more and more discussion, and some action, is the feasibility of attempting to recoup some of the benefits ordinarily

captured by the persons receiving education, who thereby enhance their own value in labor markets. The "Yale scheme," by which repayment of educational expenses is a function of the post-university income earned by the graduate, is an actual attempt. The practice in many states of charging higher tuition at state university campuses than at state of community college campuses (where the differential is not entirely due to costs) is a real, if indirect, attempt at the same thing.

The problem with the Yale type of approach for financing career redirection programs is, as we have seen, that both voluntary and involuntary career-changers are likely to experience a drop in income. To lower the value of their return even more by assessing their incomes for services received would discourage the very process the program was established to promote.

It might be possible to base user charges on the assets possessed by the redirector at the time of his decision. That approach, however, raises all the problems of ascertaining values of personal assets, the problem of treating illiquid assets such as houses that predominate in the portfolios of people of modest means, community property considerations, and the like.

Three principal kinds of proposals for financing mid-life redirection schemes have been advanced: (1) that the funds come from general revenues, (2) that the funds come from payroll taxes, usually with the proviso that both employers and employees contribute, and (3) that the financing emerge from the implicit reserves built up by workers in the form of pension rights, unemployment compensation rights, vacation and sick leave accrual, disability resources, etc.

On the first proposal, we can little of interest. Like a great many other public programs, redirection services would use revenues collected in a moderately progressive fashion (because of federal and, increasingly, state dependence on graduated income taxes as mainstays) to pay benefits that have an unknown incidence in terms of the socio-economic status of the beneficiaries. To date, public funding for released time educational endeavors is available only to school teachers, college professors, and some higher-level civil servants.

A rather interesting variant proposal in this category is that the funds to support mid-life career redirection, at least in the long run, should be drawn from such competing uses as support of higher education, public manpower training, and training carried on in business enterprises. Doing so, it is argued, would permit a more effective sequencing of training into personal work histories. The contention here is that redirection programs are a substitute for the others and, if the financial mechanism used

is the voucher scheme we discussed above, the resources would find their way back to those institutions but in a more efficient pattern, since they would then reflect user calculations as to the best deployment in terms of timing and type of institution. That is, the second-chancers would "spend" their vouchers at schools or with providers of OJT.

Another subproposal, connected to the concept of general revenues as a source, derives from the idea of the educational drawing-right, according to which every person is eligible for, say, two years of education that he or she can use at any point in life. (See Carnegie Commission, 1973a; Cartter, 1973.) Offsets to finance the program would come from reductions in the deductibility of educational expenses in the federal and state income tax.

Dresch (1973) has proposed a Human Investment Fund that would become available to all people at age 18 with drawing-rights up to about $10,000. To draw on the fund the citizen must, before his or her 25th birthday, declare an intention to participate; thereafter the citizen is taxed at a rate of, say, 6 percent for 30 years, and may draw on the fund at any time for broadly defined human-capital-forming purposes. No one would pay in more than 120 percent of the amount he used, however. The difficulty with this approach from the standpoint of the second-chancer is that, almost by definition, a young person of 18 or even 25 can hardly anticipate the need for a second chance. The scheme would not attract enough young contributors to match the withdrawals by the mid-life changers, who will have short pay-back periods, and, probably, reduced incomes.

Striner (1973) and others (e.g., Carnegie Commission, 1973b; Work in America, 1972) have proposed a payroll tax similar to the French scheme for paid educational leaves (see Chapter 8). Koleda (1973) criticizes these schemes mainly from the standpoint of their costliness. The $6 billion needed to retrain one million workers (at 1972 prices) would require an increase in the payroll tax bite of from 10.8 to 12.2 percent. Given that payroll taxes are regressive to begin with, and that paid educational leave would appeal only to certain kinds of workers (those who could benefit from and are comfortable with education), the joint incidence of taxes and benefits might form a very peculiar pattern.

Gosta Rehn (1972), of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, has proposed "one integrated system for financing all periods of non-work and providing a high degree of interchangeability, to be established instead of the present systems for youth education, adult studies, vacations and retirement." The scheme essentially

integrates all of the various rights accumulated by a worker--vacations, unemployment compensation, sick leave, retirement credits, disability insurance, even reductions in the workweek--with a sufficient tax on employers, to cover the needs for income maintenance during nonwork periods. Everyone would also be guaranteed a minimum pension at, say, 65 and minimum protection against disablement.

Cartter (1973) has embellished that plan by adding a payroll tax surcharge, as in the Dresch scheme, so that workers build up credits over time that can be used for educational purposes or, if unused, could be transferred to finance early retirement or to enrich Social Security payments. Cartter claims that corresponding reductions in unemployment compensation reserves, public assistance for employables, manpower training, and veterans' educational benefits would be possible.

Koleda (1973) points out two objectives to these sorts of schemes. They assume, first, that Social Security is similar to private insurance schemes that involve vesting in the amounts paid in. But in the educational leave proposals all people are taxed, but only those who want to use time released from work for self-investment can draw on their funds. People who merely want to learn oil painting as a cultural pursuit, or simply loaf or go fishing, must wait many years to reap the rewards of their forced savings. Second, the self-selection of contributors assumes, as we have mentioned, a kind of foresight unlikely to be present in young workers. To tie a second-chance loan bank into the Social Security system, according to Koleda, makes no logical sense.

In reviewing all the plans that incorporate integration with the Social Security system, the one feature that appears to make the most logical and administrative sense is the provision that, in any across-the-board lowering of retirement age, the contributor be given the option of taking a portion of "early retirement" in mid-life. He is thereby given more personal control over the time pattern of work-study-leisure. People could trade off benefits used in mid-life for redirection or upgrading against later years of leisure.

ADDITIONAL RESEARCH RECOMMENDATIONS

We have identified a number of other topics in which we believe new research is both urgent and promising. Some are connected with worker dissatisfaction and career aspirations. In reviewing the literature on this subject, we were struck with the disinclination of writers to use modern

multivariate estimation techniques to isolate the effects of variables of interest. With imaginative integrations of cross-sectional and longitudinal data bases, it should be possible to gauge the influence of such factors as age, generation, occupation, status, and social background on various components of job satisfaction and on the nature of the desire for career alternatives.

The specification of training techniques appropriate for mid-life redirectors would also benefit from research that attempted to blend cohort and cross-sectional data bases. Broad-based empirical research of this kind and individual experiments can combine to improve knowledge of retraining methods suitable for various categories of workers; at present our knowledge is heavily weighted toward techniques appropriate for assembly line operatives.

Beyond calling for general improvement in manpower-needs forecasting--probably a call into the void until more adequate theoretical models and more comprehensive data bases are developed--we point out the potential usefulness of better information on the costs of career switching. More research on actual cases of career redirection and more imaginative manipulation of data now on hand could provide better understanding of those costs.

The most glaring research gap in the literature that treats actual training and education programs for adults pertains to employer-sponsored and university-based programs. More systematic evaluation using standard benefit/cost analysis procedures would be helpful. In addition, for the employer-sponsored programs, two questions arise:

- How receptive might employers be to the idea of accepting <u>new</u> employees in the mid-life range into their ongoing training programs?

- How feasible would it be to use employer-managed programs to facilitate career redirection <u>within</u> organizations (at least the larger ones)?

Finally, we discovered we need much better information on the pervasiveness, strength, and effects of employer discrimination against the older worker. Without this knowledge, potential policy remedies cannot be adequately assessed.

SOME CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

Career redirection in mid-life appears to be a desire that people often express but seldom act on. The costs--economic, social, psychological--required to effect a radical alteration in vocation appear to be decisively

discouraging for most people. Whether a new public program can lower those costs sufficiently to encourage a good deal more career switching must remain unknown until the completion of the kinds of research we recommend in this chapter. And whether enhanced redirection opportunities would significantly reduce the discontent, frustration, and alienation discussed in the opening chapter must also remain indeterminate pending evaluation of the experimental programs we propose.

What seems probable is that mid-life career redirection programs, especially if well publicized and promoted upon their establishment, would begin to create their own demand. But cautious skeptics may be forgiven for asking whether that surfacing desire for redirection should be regarded as deep-seated and important, or as superficial and frivolous. The ultimate answer, one may suppose, rightfully depends on the characteristics of the people who come forward to take advantage of the program. At the two extremes, they may include severely disadvantaged workers who previously saw no hope of escaping what looked like an inexorable fate, and privileged but restless professionals and executives becalmed in middle-aged doldrums. One's judgment on the outcomes, and thus on the development of new program initiatives, must depend ultimately on one's political and ideological position.

At the very least, the situation needs a public airing. It would be socially salutary to open up wide-ranging discussions of the numbers and kinds of people who feel trapped in their current jobs, what it would take to free them, and what they could reasonably expect to gain from various redirection programs. We hope that this report will be a modest initial contribution to that discussion.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Carnegie Commission on Higher Education (1973a): Who Pays? Who Benefits? Who Should Pay? McGraw-Hill, New York.

____(1973b): Toward a Learning Society: Alternative Channels to Life, Work and Service, McGraw-Hill, New York.

Cartter, A. (1973): The Need for a New Approach to Financing Recurrent Education, paper delivered at Princeton University Conference on Post Degree Continuing Education, May.

Dresch, S. (1973): U.S. Public Policy and the Evolutionary Adaptability of Post-Secondary Education, prepared for the Conference on Recurrent Education, Washington, D.C., March.

Rehn, G. (1972): Prospective View on Patterns of Working Time, International Conference on New Patterns for Working Time, Paris.

Koleda, M. S. (1973): Notes on a Program of Mid-life Sabbaticals for American Workers, Workshop on Education, Work and the Quality of Life, Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, August.

Striner, H. E. (1972): Continuing Education as a National Capital Investment, W. E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research, Washington, D. C., March.

Work in American (1972): Special Task Force to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D. C.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

AANSTAD, JUDY
1972 A Study of Mature Women at Santa Fe Junior College, Florida Community Junior College, Inter-institutional Research Council.

ACADEMY FOR EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
1974 Never Too Old to Learn, New York: Academy for Educational Development.

ALFORD, HAROLD J.
1968 Continuing Education in Action: Residential Centers For Lifelong Learning. New York: John Wiley and Sons.

ASPEN INSTITUTE FOR HUMANISTIC STUDIES
1974 A Way to Think About Education, Work, and the Quality of Life. Preliminary Results of an Aspen Institute Summer 1973 Workship, (Working Draft).

BARDWICK, JUDITH M.
1971 Psychology of Women. New York: Harper and Row.

BARDWICK, JUDITH M.
1975 Middle Age and a Sense of Future. Paper Presented at the Meetings of the American Sociological Association, September, San Francisco, Calif.

BARFIELD, RICHARD E.
1972 Some Observations on Early Retirement. In Employment of the Middle-Aged. Gloria M. Shatto, Ed. Springfield: Charles C. Thomas.

BAYER, ALAN E.
1970 College and University Faculty: A Statistical Description. A Report on the Future of Higher Education and the American Council on Education. ACE Research Reports. Volume 5, No. 5.

BEALL, L.
1967 Vocational Choice: The Impossible Fantasy and the Improbable Choice. Journal of Counseling Psychology 14:86-92.

BECKER, HOWARD S.
1963 Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance. New York: The Free Press.

BECKER, H.S. AND STRAUSS, A.
1956 Careers, Personality and Adult Socialization. American Journal of Sociology 62:253-263.

BECKER, H.S. AND CARPER J.W.
1956 The Development of Identification With an Occupation. American Journal of Sociology 61:289-298.

BELBIN, EUNICE
1956 Methods of Training Older Workers. Ergonomics: 208-221.

BELBIN, EUNICE AND BELBIN, R.M.
1968 New Careers in Middle Age. In Middle Age and Aging -- A Reader in Social Psychology. Bernice L. Neugarten, Ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

BELBIN, R.M.
1955 Training Methods for Older Workers, O.E.C.D., Paris.

BELBIN, R.M.
1970 The Discovery Method in Training Older Workers. In Industrial Gerontology. Harold L. Sheppard, Ed. Cambridge: Shenkman Publishing Company

BELBIN, R.M.
1971 Midcareer Education: Its Shape as a Function of Human Disequilibrium. In Professional Obsolescence: A symposium held at Cambridge, England in June, 1970. S.S. Dubin, Ed., Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, D.C. Heath and Company.

BELL, DANIEL
1956 Work and Its Discontents. Boston: Beacon Press.

BELL, DURAN
1975 Aspiration and Dissatisfaction Among Workers and Training Potential Among Older Workers. In An Evaluation of Policy Related Research on Programs for Mid-Life Career Redirection: Vol. 11 -- Major Findings. Prepared for the National Science Foundation. Santa Monica: The Rand Corporation.

BERGER, PETER AND BERGER, BRIGITTE
1971 The Blueing of America. New Republic 164:20-3.

BIDERMAN, ALBERT D. AND SHARP, LAURE M.
1968 The Convergence of Military and Civilian Occupational Structures: Evidence from Studies of Military Retired Employment. The American Journal of Sociology 73 (Jan., #4): 381-399.

BIDERMAN, ALBERT D.
1971 The Retired Military. In Handbook of Military Institutions. Roger W. Little, Ed. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.

BIDERMAN, ALBERT D.
1973 Where Do They Go From Here? - Retired Military in America. The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences 406:146-161.

BIRREN, J.E.
1955 Age Changes in Skill and Learning. In Earning Opportunities for Older Workers. Wilma Donahue, Ed., Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

BIRREN, J.E. AND WOODRUFF, D.S.
1973 Human Development over the Life-Span through Education. In Life-Span Developmental Psychology: Personality and Socialization. Paul B. Baltes and K. Warner Schaie, eds. New York: Academic Press.

BISCHOF, LEDFORD J.
1969 Adult Psychology. New York: Harper and Row Publishers.

BLAUNER, R.
1960 Work Satisfaction and Industrial Trends in Modern Society. In Labor and Trade Unionism: An Interdisciplinary Reader. W. Galenson and S. M. Lipset, Eds. New York: John Wiley and Sons.

BLAUNER, ROBERT
1964 Alienation and Freedom. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

BOOKBINDER, H.
1955 A Study of the Work Histories of Men Leaving a Short Life-Span Occupation. Personnel and Guidance Journal 34:164-167.

BORDIN, E.S., NACHMAN, B., AND S.J. SEGAL
1963 An Articulated Framework for Vocational Development. Journal of Counseling Psychology 10:107-116.

BOROSON, WARREN
1974 New Careers for Old. Money (April): 22-26.

BRENNAN, MICHAEL J., TAFT, PHILIP, AND SCHUPACK, MARK B.
1967 The Economics of Age. New York: W. W. Norton and Company.

BRIM, ORVILLE, G., JR.
1974a Selected Theories of the Male Mid-Life Crisis: A Comparative Analysis. Paper presented to Division 20, at the 82nd Annual Convention of American Psychological Association, New Orleans, September 1974.

BRIM, ORVILLE G., JR.
1974b The Sense of Personal Control Over One's Life. Paper Presented to Divisions 7 and 8, at the 82nd Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association, New Orleans, September, 1974.

BUHLER, C.
1969 Humanistic Psychology as an Educational Program. American Psychologist 24:736-742.

CAIN, LEONARD D., JR.
1964 Life Course and Social Structure. In Handbook of Modern Sociology. Robert E. L. Faris, Ed. Chicago: Rand McNally and Company.

CAIN, LEONARD D.
1973 Socialization Demands Upon the Elderly. Unpublished Paper Presented at the 26th Annual Scientific Meeting of the Gerontological Society, Miami Beach, November, 1973.

CARTER, H.D.
1940 The Development of Vocational Attitudes. Journal of Consulting Psychology 4: 185-191.

CARTTER, ALLAN M., McDOWELL, JOHN M.
1975 Projected Market and Institutional Policy Impact on Faculty Composition. University of California. Unpublished Manuscript.

CENTER FOR CREATIVE LEADERSHIP
1974 First Conference on Fellowship Evaluation: Proceedings. Greensboro, N.C. CCL Special Report.

CHINOY, E.
1955 Automobile Workers and the American Dream. New York: Doubleday.

CLAUSEN, JOHN A., Ed.
1968 Socialization and Society. Boston: Little, Brown and Co.

CLOPTON, WILLARD C.
1972 An Exploratory Study of Career Change in Middle Life. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis. University of Cincinnati.

CLOPTON, W.
1973 Personality and Career Change. Industrial Gerontology Spring: 9-17.

COLLINGS, KENT J.
1971 The Second Time Around -- Finding a Civilian Career in Mid-Life. Cranston: The Carroll Press.

COLLINS, J. H.
1968 Hiring Middle Aged for What it can Produce. Public Utilities 61:666-675.

COMLY, LUCY T.
1975 Community-Based Education and Career Information and Counseling Services for the Adult Public. The University of the State of New York: The State Education Department (Jan. 20, 1975).

CONSTANDSE, WILLIAM J.
1972 A Neglected Personnel Problem. Personnel Journal (February): 129-133.

COOPERMAN, IRENE G.
1971 Second Careers: War Wives and Widows. Vocational Guidance Quarterly 20:103-111.

DILL, WILLIAM R.
1971 Obsolescence as a Problem of Personal Initiative. In Professional Obsolescence: A symposium held at Cambridge, England in June 1970. S.S. Dubin, Ed. Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, D C. Heath and Company.

DOUGHARTY, LAURENCE A.
1975 Using Manpower Forecasting in Career Redirection Planning. In An Evaluation of Policy Related Research on Programs for Mid-Life Career Redirection: Vol. 11 - Major Findings. Prepared for the National Science Foundation. Santa Monica: The Rand Corporation.

DUBIN, S.S., Ed.
1971 Professional Obsolescence: A Symposium held at Cambridge, England in June, 1970. Lexington, Lexington Books, D.C. Heath and Company.

DUBIN, S.S.
1972 Obsolescence or Lifelong Education: Choice for Professionals. American Psychologist 27:486-498.

DUNN, WILLIAM
1975 Government Sponsored Programs and Employer Sponsored Programs. In An Evaluation of Policy Related Research on Programs for Mid-Life Career Redirection: Vol. 11 - Major Findings. Prepared for the National Science Foundation. Santa Monica: The Rand Corporation.

DUNNING, BRUCE B. AND BIDERMAN, ALBERT D.
1973 The Case of Military "Retirement." Industrial Gerontology, Spring: 18-37.

DURKHEIM, EMILE
1960 The Division of Labor in Society. Glencoe: The Free Press.

DYER, L.D.
1973 Implications of Job Displacement at Mid-Career. Industrial Gerontology. Spring: 38-46

EISDORFER, CARL AND M. POWELL LAWTON, EDS.
1973 The Psychology of Adult Development and Aging. Washington, D.C.: The American Psychological Association.

EISENSTADT, S.N.
1956 From Generation to Generation: Age Groups and Social Structure. Glencoe, Ill.,: Free Press.

ENTINE, ALAN
1972 Second Careers: Experiences and Expectations. In Where Have All the Robots Gone? -- Worker Dissatisfaction in the 70's. H.L. Sheppard and N.Q. Herrick, Eds. New York: Free Press.

ENTINE, ALAN, Ed.
1974a Americans in Middle Years: Career Options and Education -- Summary of Proceedings of a Conference Sponsored by the State University of New York and the Fund for New Priorities in America.

ENTINE, ALAN D.
1974b Mid-Career Counseling and Information Program at Stony Brook - "The First Four Months." (Mimeographed).

ENTINE, ALAN D.
1974c Mid-Life Careers: New Strategies for Emerging Needs. An Address presented at the Symposium on New Careers at Mid-Life, University of South Florida, Tampa, Florida. November 15-16, 1974.

ENTINE, ALAN D.
1975 Mid-Life Needs: Assessments and Responses. An address presented at the Symposium on New Careers at Mid-Life, Florida Technological University, Orlando, Florida. May 9, 1975.

ERIKSON, ERIK H.
1950 Childhood and Society. New York: W. W. Norton and Company.

FAIRFIELD, ROY P.
1974 Changing Careers at Mid-Stream - Some Autobiographical Accounts. The Humanist (May/June): 14-23.

FAIT, ELEANOR
1970 Research Needs in Industrial Gerontology from Viewpoint of A State Employment Service. In Towards An Industrial Gerontology. H. L. Sheppard, Ed. Cambridge: Schenkman Publishing Company.

FINE, SIDNEY
1970 Older Workers in Pursuit of New Careers. In Towards an Industrial Gerontology. Harold L. Sheppard, Ed. Cambridge: Schenkman Publishing Company.

FRIEDMANN, E.A. AND HAVIGHURST, R.J.
1954 The Meaning of Work and Retirement. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

FRIEDSAM, HIRAM J.
1964 Career. In A Dictionary of the Social Sciences. New York: The Free Press.

FRIEDMAN, MEYER AND RAY H. ROSENMAN
1974 Type A Behavior and Your Heart. Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett Publications, Inc.

FREUD, SIGMUND
1962 Civilization and its Discontents. New York: Norton.

GALLAGHER, DOROTHY
1974 Midwifing a Return to Work. Money (March): 40-43.

GARDNER, JOHN F.
1965 Self Renewal. New York: Harper and Row.

GEIST, HAROLD
1968 The Psychological Aspects of the Aging Process. St. Louis: Warren H. Green, Inc.

GINZBERG, E., GINSBURG, J.W., AXELROD, S., AND HERMA. J.L.
1951 Occupational Choice: An Approach to a General Theory. New York: Columbia University Press.

GINZBERG, E. AND HERMA, J.L.
1964 Talent and Performance. New York: Columbia University Press.

GINZBERG, E.
1972 Toward a Theory of Occupational Choice Restatement. Vocational guidance 20:169.

GLASS, DAVID C.
1974 Behavioral Antecedents of Coronary Heart Disease. Unpublished manuscripts.

GLICKMAN, A.S. AND BROWN, ZENIA H.
1974 Changing Schedules of Work - Patterns and Implications. Washington: W. E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research.

GORDON, MARGARET S.
1961 Work and Patterns of Retirement. In Aging and Leisure. Robert W. Kleemeir, Ed., New York: Oxford University Press.

GROUP FOR HUMAN DEVELOPMENT IN HIGHER EDUCATION
1974 Mid-Career Transitions. Faculty Development in a Time of Retrenchment: 75-80.

HARRY, JOSEPH AND DOHERTY, EDMUND
1975 Evolving Sources of Happiness for Men Over the Life Cycle -- A Structural Analysis. Wayne State University. A Paper Presented to the American Sociological Association, San Francisco, Calif.

HAUG, MARIE R. AND SUSSMAN, MARVIN B.
1967 The Second Career -- Variant of a Sociological Concept. Journal of Gerontology 22 (#4, part 1): 439-444.

HAVIGHURST, ROBERT
1969 Work, Leisure and Education: Toward the Goal of Creating Flexible Life Styles. A Report of a Special Committee of the Gerontological Society Research and Development Goals in Social Gerontology. The Gerontologist 9 (#4, Chapter 1).

HEARN, HERSHEL L.
1972 Aging and the Artistic Career. The Gerontologist 12 (4): 357-363.

HERZBERG, FREDERICK
1959 From Motivation to Work. New York: John Wiley and Sons.

HERZBERG, FREDERICK
1966 Work and the Nature of Man. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell and Sons.

SPECIAL TASK FORCE TO THE SECRETARY OF H.E.W. WASHINGTON, D.C.
1972 Work in America.

HIESTAND, D.L.
1971 Changing Careers After 35. New York: Columbia University Press.

HOLLAND, J.L.
1959 A Theory of Vocational Choice. Journal of Counseling Psychology 6:35-45.

HOLLAND, J.L.
1966 The Psychology of Vocational Choice. Waltham, Mass.: Blaisdell Publishing Company.

HOPKINS, DAVID S. P.
1974 Making Early Retirement Feasible. Change 6 (June, #5) 46,47,64.

HOUSE, R. J. AND WIGDOR, L. A.
1967 Herzberg's Dual Factory Theory of Job Satisfaction and Motivation: A Review of Evidence and Criticism. Personnel Psychology: 369-389.

HUGHES, EVERETT C.
1958 Men and Their Work. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press.

JACQUES, ELLIOT
1965 Death and the Mid-Life Crisis. International Journal of Psychoanalysis 46: 502-514.

JANOWITZ, MORRIS
1960 The Professional Soldier: A Social and Political Portrait. Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press.

JENNY, HANS H.
1974 Early Retirement - A New Issue in Higher Education: The Financial Consequences of Early Retirement. Paper Prepared for the Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association.

JUNG, C. G.
1960 The Stages of Life. In the Collected Works of C. G. Jung. Volume 8. New York: Pantheon Books.

KALISH, RICHARD A.
1974 Four Score and Ten. The Gerontologist 14 (2): 129-135.

KATONA, G. AND MORGAN, J.
1967 Retirement in Retrospect and Prospect. In Retirement and the Individual. Hearings before the Subcommittee on Retirement and the Individual of the Special Committee on the Aging, U.S. Senate, 90th Congress, July 26, 1967. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

KELLEHER, CAROL H.
1973a Second Careers - A Growing Trend. Industrial Gerontology, Spring: 1-8.

KELLEHER, CAROL H.
1973b Second Careers - A Selected Bibliography. Washington, D.C. National Council on the Aging, Inc.

KIMMEL, DOUGLAS C.
1974 Adulthood and Aging. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc.

KINN, JOHN M.
1973 Unemployment and Mid-Career Change: A Blueprint for Today and Tomorrow. Industrial Gerontology, Spring: 47-60.

KRAMER, MORTON AND REDICK, RICHARD W.
Epidemiological Indices in the Middle Years. Division of Biometry, National Institute of Mental Health. Unpublished paper.

KREPS, JUANITA M.
1971a Career Options After Fifty: Suggested Research. The Gerontologist II (Part 2): 4-8.

KREPS, JUANITA M.
1971b Lifetime Allocation of Work and Income - Essays in the Economics of Aging. Durham: Duke University Press.

LAVOIE, F.J.
1971 Plight of the Over-Forty Engineer. Management Review 60:27-30.

LEEMAN, CALVIN P.
1973 A Demonstration Project in Occupational Mental Health Services: The Job Improvement Service. Psychiatric Quarterly 47 (3): 419-441.

LEVINSON, DANIEL J. DARROW, CHARLOTTE M., KLEIN, EDWARD B., LEVINSON, MARIA H. AND McKEE, BRAXTON
1974 The Psychological Development of Men in Early Adulthood and the Mid-Life Transition. In Life History Research in Psychotherapy, Volume 3. D.F. Hicks, Ed. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

LEVINSON, HARRY
1969 On Being a Middle-Aged Manager. Harvard Business Review 47: 51-60.

LINDEN, M.E. AND COURTNEY, D.
1953 The Human Life Cycle and its Interruptions. American Journal of Psychiatry 109: 906-915.

LORGE, I.
1936 The Influence of the Test Upon the Nature of Mental Decline as a Function of Age. Journal of Educational Psychology (27) 100-110.

MAILLER, JAMES R.
1968 Army and Labor Program for "Second Careerists." Employment Service Review (September): 28-31.

MANNHEIM, K.
1952 Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge. New York: Oxford University Press.

MASLOW, A.H.
1954 Motivation and Personality. New York: Harper and Row.

MAYO, ELTON
1933 The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization. New York: The Viking Press.

McGARRAGHY, JOHN J.
1973 The External Degree Program: One Avenue to a Second Career. Industrial Gerontology, Spring, 61-66.

McGREGOR, DOUGLAS
1960 The Human Side of Enterprise. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc.

1973 Middle Aged Job Changes. Monthly Labor Review 96: 60-61.

MORSE, N.C. AND WEISS, R.S.
1955 The Function and Meaning of Work on the Job. American Sociological Review, (April): 191-198.

MORSE, H.C. AND McCAFFERTY, L.
1962 Over Forty and Job Hunting. Personnel 39: 20-26.

MURRAY, JAMES R., POWERS, EDWARD A., AND HAVIGHURST, ROBERT J.
1971 Personal and Situation Factors Producing Flexible Careers. The Gerontologist. Winter 1971: 4-12.

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON THE AGING
1975 NCOA Publications List. Washington, D.C.: National Council on the Aging.

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF HEALTH
1975 Epidemiology of Aging. Adrian M. Ostfeld, and Don C. Gibson, Eds. Bethesda: Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Publication # 75-7111.

NEUGARTEN, BERNICE L. AND ASSOCIATES, Eds.
1964 Personality in Middle and Late Life. New York: Atherton, Press.

NEUGARTEN, BERNICE L., Ed.
1970 Middle Age and Aging. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

1971 New Careers for Older People. Labour Gazette 71: 392.

NEUGARTEN, BERNICE L. AND DOWTY, N.
1972 The Middle Years. In American Handbook of Psychiatry. S. Arieti, Ed., Volume 1, part 3.

NEUGARTEN, BERNICE L AND DATAN, NANCY
1973 Sociological Perspectives on the Life Cycle. In Life-Span Developmental Psychology: Personality and Socialization. Paul B. Baltes and K. Warner Schaie, Eds. New York: Academic Press.

NEUGARTEN, BERNICE L.
1975 The Rise of Young-Old. New York Times (Jan. 18): op. ed.

NOSOW, SIGMUND AND FORM, WILLIAM H., Eds.
1962 Man, Work and Society, New York: Basic Books, Inc.

PASCAL, ANTHONY H.
1975 Mid-Life Redirection of Careers: Introduction. In An Evaluation of Policy Related Research on Programs for Mid-Life Career Redirection: Vol. II -- Major Findings. Prepared for the National Science Foundation. Santa Monica: The Rand Corporation.

PASCAL, ANTHONY
1975 Foreign Programs and Summary of Lessons from the Literature and Recommendations for Policymakers. In an Evaluation of Policy Related Research on Programs for Mid-Life Career Redirection: Vol. 11 - Major Findings. Prepared for the National Science Foundation. Santa Monica: The Rand Corporation.

PARNES, HERBERT S. AND MEYER, JACK
1971 Withdrawal From the Labor Force by Middle-Aged Men, 1966-1967. Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University Center for Human Resource Research.

PARNES, HERBERT S. AND NESTEL, GILBERT
1971 Retirement Expectations of Middle-Aged Men. Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University Center for Human Resource Research.

RAPOPORT, ROBERT N.
1970 Mid-Career Development. New York: Tavistock Publications.

REHN, GOSTA
1974 Towards Flexibility in Working Life. In Recurrent Education. Selma J. Mushkin, Ed. National Institute of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare: 177-185.

REICH, CHARLES A.
1970 The Greening of America. New York: Random House.

REYNOLDS, MICHAEL Et. Al.
1961 Occupational Opportunity for the Mature Woman or Mother Wore a Beanie. Vocational Guidance Quarterly (October): 194-197.

RIESMAN, DAVID
1950 The Lonely Crowd. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press.

ROBERTS, BETTY H.
1973 Mid-Career Change: Smoke or Fire? Substantive Paper, The Florence Heller Graduate School, Brandeis University, Waltham, Mass.

ROBERTS, BETTY H.
1974 Middle-Ager Career Dropouts: An Exploration. An unpublished Ph.D. Thesis. Brandeis University, The Florence Heller Graduate School for Advanced Studies in Social Welfare.

ROBINSON, H. A., et. al.
1966 Job Satisfaction Researchers of 1964-65. Personnel and Guidance Journal: 310-312.

ROE, ANNE, AND SIEGELMAN, M.
1964 Origin of Interests. Washington, D.C.: American Personnel and Guidance Association.

ROE, ANNA AND BARUCH, RHODA
1967 Occupational Changes in the Adult Years. Personnel Administration (July-August): 26-32.

ROGERS, KENN.
1973 The Mid-Career Crisis. Saturday Review of Society: 37-38.

ROSENBERG, STANLEY D., AND FARRELL, MICHAEL P.
1975 Changes in Life-Course at Mid-Life: A Pattern of Psychosocial Decline. Unpublished paper, presented at the American Sociological Association, August, 1975, San Francisco, Calif.

RUPPENTHAL, K. M.
1961 Compulsory Retirement of Airline Pilots. Industrial and Labor Relations Review 14: 528-547.

SABEN, SAMUEL
1967 Occupational Mobility of Employed Workers. Monthly Labor Review (June): 31-38.

SAMLER, JOSEPH
1971 A Second Look at Second Careers. Vocational Guidance Quarterly 20: 113-118.

SECRETARY OF LABOR
1965 The Older American Worker: Age Discrimination in Employment. (Research Materials).

SHARP, L. M. AND BIDERMAN, A. D.
1967 Out of Uniform: The Employment Experience of Retired Servicemen Who Seek A Second Career. Monthly Labour Review: January, 15-21; February, 39-47.

SHEPARD, JON M.
1970 Automation and Alienation: A Study of Office and Factory Workers. Cambridge: The M.I.T. Press.

SHEPPARD, H. L.
1970 On Age Discrimination in Towards an Industrial Gerontology. H. L. Sheppard, Ed. Cambridge: Schenkman Publishing Company.

SHEPPARD, HAROLD L.
1971 New Perspectives on Older Workers. Washington, D. C.: The W. E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research.

SHEPPARD, HAROLD L. AND PHILIBERT, MICHAEL
1972a Employment and Retirement: Roles and Activities. The Gerontologist 12 (2): 29-35.

SHEPPARD, HAROLD L. AND HERRICK, NEAL O.
1972b Where Have All the Robots Gone? Worker Dissatisfaction in the '70's. New York: The Free Press.

SIEGLE, P. E.
1960 The Adult Learner. In On Teaching Adults: An Anthology. M. V. Miller, Ed. Chicago: Center for Study of Liberal Education for Adults.

SIROTA, DAVID AND WOLFSON, ALAN D.
1972 Job Enrichment: What are the Obstacles? Personnel (May/June): 8-17.

SLATER, R.
1973 End of the Road at Forty? Personnel Management 5: 31-44.

SLOCUM, W. L.
1966 Occupational Careers. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company.

SLOTKIN, J. S.
1954 Life Course in Middle Age. Social Forces (33).

SMITH, L.
1972 Mid-Career Education for Municipal Clerks. Industrial Gerontology, Spring: 143-144.

SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL
1973 Description of Proposed Activities. Committee on Work and Personality in the Middle Years.

SODDY, KENNETH
1967 Men in Middle Life. London: Tavistock Publications.

SOFER, CYRIL
1970 Men in Mid-Career: A Study of British Managers and Technical Specialists. London: Cambridge University Press.

SLEBBINS, R. A.
1970 Career: The Subjective Approach. Sociological Quarter II (Winter): 32-49.

STETSON, DAMON
1971 Starting Over. New York: The Macmillan Company.

STOCKFORD, LEE
1969 Careers Today. February.

STRAUSS, A.
1959 Mirrors and Masks. Glencoe: Free Press.

STRINER, HERBERT E.
1972 Continuing Education as a National Capital Investment. Washington: W. E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research.

STRONG, E. K.
1943 Vocational Interest of Men and Women. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press.

SUPER, D. E.
1953 A Theory of Vocational Development. American Psychologist 8: 185-190.

TARNOWIESKI, DALE
1973 The Changing Success Ethic - An AMA Survey Report. New York: AMACOM.

TAYLOR, FREDERICK W.
1911 Principles of Scientific Management. New York: Harper and Brothers.

THOMPSON, VELMA M.
1975 Union Sponsored Retraining Programs and Special Redirection Efforts. In An evaluation of Policy Related Research on Programs for Mid-Life Career Redirection: Vol. ii - Major Findings. Prepared for the National Science Foundation. Santa Monica: The Rand Corporation.

TILGHER, ADRIANO
1930 Work, What it has Meant to Men Through the Ages. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company.

TOFFLER, ALVIN
1970 Future Shock. New York: Bantam Books.

TOMITA, KIKU
1975 Counseling Middle-Aged and Older Workers. Industrial Gerontology (Winter): 45-52.

TURNER, CYNTHIA
1975 Management Ideology Toward Labor Productivity. Unpublished B. A. Thesis Swarthmore College. Department of Sociology and Anthropology.

ULLMAN, CHARLES A.
1971 Second Careers for Military Retirees. Vocation Guidance Quarterly 20: 96-102.

UNITED STATES BUREAU OF THE CENSUS
1970 1970 Census of Population. Washington, D. C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR, MANPOWER ADMINISTRATION
1973 Job Satisfaction: Is There a Trend. Manpower Research Monograph #30. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office.

VEIGA, J. F.
1973 Mobile Manager at Mid-Career. Harvard Business Reviews 1: 115-119.

WEBER, MAX.
1958 The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

WERTHEIMER, BARBARA
1973 Project Grant Application, Blue Collar, Mid-Career, Early Retirement Project. Cornell University, New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations.

WILENSKY, HAROLD
1960 Careers, Life Styles, and Social Integration. International Social Science Journal 12: 553-558.

WILENSKY, HAROLD L.
1961a Orderly Careers and Social Participation: The Impact of Work History on Social Integration in the Middle Masses. American Sociological Review (August): 521-539.

WILENSKY, HAROLD L.
1961b Life Cycle, Work Situation, and Participation in Formal Associations. In Aging and Leisure. Robert W. Kleemier, Ed. New York: Oxford University Press.

WILENSKY, HAROLD L.
1964 Varieties of Work Experience. In Man in a World at Work. Henry Borow, Ed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

WRIGHT, HOLLY
1974 New Career and Educational Programs for Older People: A Review of the Literature. New York: Academy for Educational Development.

YANKELOVICH, DANIEL
1974 The New Morality: A Profile of American Youth in the '70's. New York: McGraw-Hill.

YOUNG, A. M.
1973 Going Back to School at Thirty-Five. Monthly Labor Review: 39-42.